

INSTITUTTET
FOR SAMMENLIGNENDE KULTURFORSKNING

SANTAL FOLK TALES

EDITED
BY
P. O. BODDING

VOL. I



OSLO 1925

H. ASCHEHOUG & CO. (W. NYGAARD)

LEIPZIG

OTTO HARRASSOWITZ

PARIS

HONORÉ CHAMPION

LONDON

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CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

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SERIE B: SKRIFTER

II

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PREFACE

It has been my privilege to see Mr. Boddington's Santal Folk Tales through the press, and it has given me great pleasure to do so. That such has been the case is due not only to the intrinsic value of the tales, but also to the light they throw on several interesting questions.

That they are genuine folk tales cannot be doubted. They have been noted down by a Santal, whose horizon was limited to the Santal country and Santal traditions. It is not difficult to detect traces of Aryan folklore in these stories, and sometimes we can point to parallel tales in the well-known collections of Aryan India. It is probable that a not inconsiderable portion of Santal folklore has been derived from Aryan sources, and even from such as are available in printed books. Still we have no right to speak of these tales otherwise than as the property of the Santals, as real folk tales.

We must not forget that the folk tales and popular traditions of a people are nowhere entirely of indigenous growth. Not rarely they have been imported from abroad, as is e. g. the case with more than one Norwegian fairy tale, which to-day makes the impression of having taken its rise on Norwegian soil. They are nevertheless the property of the people, if they have been adapted to its mentality: in folklore as in civilization generally property is not only inherited but also acquired.

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If we apply such a test to the Santal folk tales, we will find that every page bears testimony to the angle of vision characteristic of the Santals, the individuals whom we learn to know in the stories are Santals and not Hindus.

Much has been written about the various aboriginal tribes of India, but nevertheless they are still only imperfectly known. It is not easy for a European to become quite familiar with their way of thinking and of looking on the world, and even if he more or less succeeds in doing so, he will experience some difficulty in explaining things to other people. Even the most careful and conscientious observer has his bias and his particular idiosyncrasy, and the picture he draws will bear the stamp of his individual mentality. It will have to be filled up with numerous details and features.

It will be easily seen that there cannot be a better or more reliable guide to the mentality of a strange people than a comprehensive collection of such tales and traditions which live on the lips and in the hearts. Through them the people is able to speak to us without the aid of an interpreter, and we have only to listen and to concentrate our attention on what we hear. Therefore Mr. Bodding's folk tales should be welcomed by everybody who wishes to understand the primitive Kolarian tribe to which they belong.

The social and mental features of the Santals can, however, claim our interest also from another point of view. The Kolarian tribes, of which the Santals are the most important one, are the last Indian remnants of a race which in ancient times seems to have played a considerable rôle in India and in the countries and islands around the Indian ocean. When the Aryans entered India, they were met with the ancestors of the present day Dravidians and Kolarians, and the latter ones seem to have formed the bulk of the population in the northern and central parts of the continent. We would therefore expect to find a Kolarian substratum in the languages and in the civilization of India, and a critical examination of the remnants of the ancient population

which have preserved their ancient speech and mentality till the present day may be apt to throw light on several questions connected with the development of India through the ages. And because we know that the ancient civilization of the Kolarians and also their indigenous languages have to a great extent disappeared, having become inundated by the strong Aryan wave, we may reasonably hope, from a study of what still remains, to be able to draw general conclusions about the laws underlying the growth and expansion of a superior civilization. I shall only mention some few points.

In comparative folklore the traditional tales handed down in Indian literature have always played a prominent rôle, since a solid foundation of this branch of research was laid through Benfey's translation of the *Pañcatantra*. Now Indian tradition states that the *Pañcatantra* was composed in the Dekhan, *dakṣiṇāpāthe*, and similiary another important collection of Indian tales, *Guṇāḍhya's Brhatkathā*, is localized in the Vindhya country. In these parts of India the ancient population was not Aryan, but either Dravidian or Kolarian, or a mixture of both. It therefore seems probable that tribes related to the Santals have contributed to the rich store of Indian traditional tales, and a careful analysis of the folk tales now published may some day lead to important results.

In this connexion I should like to draw attention to the tales about jackals, because the jackal plays such a great rôle in Indian folklore. Even a cursory perusal will show that the jackal is not throughout described and characterized in a uniform way. Usually he is a clever and dexterous animal, which is always prepared to assist those who have suffered wrong in asserting their right. In some tales, however, he acts in a different way. He is malicious and treacherous, but usually he is defeated in the end, just like the foolish devil in European folklore.

This double conception is curious. It is possible that we have to do with two different elements, one originally Kolarian and

the other originally Aryan. It is, however, also possible that the stories about jackals, which are of such importance in ancient Indian folklore, originally belong to the Kolarian tribes, and that they have thence been adopted by the Aryans. The latter ones at an early period made use of tales about animals in order to inculcate certain doctrines, and more especially they were employed for the purpose of teaching political wisdom. The various animals were brought together into an organized state under the rule of the lion as king. The wily and crafty jackal then acted as the minister of the king, and as such he had to find a way out of difficulties. It is possible that this led to the conception of the jackal as the prudent adviser and dexterous helper, which was then reimported into Santal folklore, without the accompaniment of the organized animal state with its king. The crafty and treacherous jackal would then represent the more original type.

I can only point to these explanations as possibilities. The students of comparative folklore will some day be able to solve such questions in a satisfactory way, and the Santal tales here published are likely to be of importance to them in doing so.

They will also prove of interest to the folklorist in other respects. The 22nd story shows e. g. how different tales and motifs can be combined into one, a fact which is well known to every student of popular traditions. The chief interest about this tale rests with the fact that we can watch the process before the different tales have become really melted together, and see how insignificant the connecting idea can be.

• The Santal folk tales also throw some light on the process of Aryanization which has been going on through the ages, and which has melted the different Indian races and tribes together in a common civilization. We can to some extent trace some of its different stages.

We can see how the Santals have been influenced by the Aryans in numerous details. Wild animals usually retain their Santali names. Thus the jackal is called *toyo*, but when the

gender is to be indicated, we find the Aryan word *aṇḍia* used to indicate the male jackal, and when the Santal narrator wants to speak about the shrewdness of the jackal, he talks about *sat siyaler budi*, the wit of seven jackals, and uses Aryan words throughout.

Domesticated animals are also largely distinguished by means of indigenous words, but the cow is called *gāi*, which is Aryan, and we should perhaps infer from this fact that the Santals did not originally keep cows. It is also characteristic that Aryan words are largely used in order to denote various things connected with the keeping and watching of domesticated animals. Thus we find *goṛa*, cattle-shed, *sukri*, pig-sty, (*məṛəm*) *gupi*, (goat) herd, &c.

Aryan designations are also largely used about articles of food and dress; thus *laḍu*, cake, *miṭḥai*, sweets, *dāl*, beans, *caole*, rice, *panahi*, shoes, &c. It will be seen that we are mostly concerned with such objects as bear witness to a certain amount of civilization.

The Santals themselves are skillful at such work which they are accustomed to. Specialized crafts, however, do not seem to belong to them. The shoemaker, *muci*, the blacksmith, *kamar*, the carter, *gaḍwan*, are designated with Aryan words and do not belong to Santal society, which is not differentiated in this way. Also the names of many implements, such as *bṭol*, bottle; *basta*, bag; *sui*, needle; *loṭa*, cup; *ukhuṛ*, mortar; *churi*, knife; *lasṛ*, razor, are of foreign origin.

In a similar way trade does not form a regular means of livelihood with the Santals. The trader is called *bepari*, and Aryan words such as *mal*, *cij*, *asbab* are used about different goods; the market is called *bajar*; depense is *khorca*, and even about the exchange of cows in order to cheat a person we find an Aryan term used. No wonder then that a word such as *kiriñ*, to buy, is of Aryan origin. It has, however, been so thoroughly assimilated that it has given rise to new derivatives such as *ākiriñ*, to sell; *kikiriñ hoṛ*, a selling man, a seller.

Money has evidently been introduced from the Aryans, and several terms of calculation have the same origin. We find *ṭaka*, rupee; *lekha*, counting; *miṭ hajar gan*, one thousand in number, &c.

Also in the calculation of time the influence of Aryan civilization can be felt. Thus we find *ghari*, a while; *tin din*, three days; *bar cando*, two months; *bochor puraṅkate*, after a year, and more general terms such as *cirokal*, a long time; *jivet bhor*, lifelong; *jaejug tire jug*, for ever, &c. Even a designation of time with reference to the height of the sun such as *bar ḍaṇ*, two poles, contains an Aryan word for 'pole'.

That the various notions connected with administration and law are of foreign origin is only what we would expect. The complainant goes to the *ḥakim*, to lodge a complaint, *lālis* or, with a Santali infix *lākliś*; the judge considers, *bicaṛ*, the case and is therefore a *bikcar*, and may give an order, *hukum*, or a decree, *ḍigri*, or he may dismiss, *ḍhismis*, the matter. He has at his disposal the police, *pulis*, messengers and peons, *caukidar*, *sipāhi*, *ḍoroga*, &c.

The Santals themselves have their own village organization. Even here, however, we can trace the Aryan influence. The headman is designated as *mañjhi*, and the village council is evidently framed on Aryan patterns, the *mōṛē hoṛ*, the five men, being an adaptation of the *pañcāyat* of the Aryan villages.

Even the life in the house and the family shows traces of Aryan influence. The house itself, *oṛak*, retains its old name, but it has been provided with a *bhitāṛ*, an inner apartment, and a door, *duāṛ*, and in the fire-place, *culḥa*, there may be coals, *aṅgra*. Near the village we further find tanks, *pukhri*, *bande*, and watering-places, *daḥ ghaṭ*, &c.

Even the terms of relationship are to a great extent of Aryan origin. A man takes a wife, *bāhu*, he has a *nāihār* or father-in law, and he may become a *raṇḍi* or widower. We hear of *mama saṣur*, uncles, and *bḥaṅṇa*, nephews, and strangers may

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be of p̄or j̄at, lit. another caste. Even the father may be designated as janamdata, and the son as beṭa or as bacha, and the well-known word bh̄ai, brother, is also met with.

We are expressly told that the Santals have a recollection of having abandoned many of their ancient customs at a certain time and place, after long deliberations, that is to say, they have themselves a vague notion of the fact that they are becoming more and more aryanized. And that such has been the case is, as we have already seen, evident enough. When we are told that a woman is never her own master, but the property of her father or brothers until she is married, that she then belongs to her husband and after his death to her son, we are faced with well-known Aryan notions, though the position of Santal women may have been similar in ancient times.

We arrive at the same conclusions when we examine the terms used about sentiment and human feelings. We hear about māyā, affection, and daya, compassion, and when somebody has put me to shame it is said that he lajaokidiṇa.

Even the religious notions have not been proof against the Aryan pressure. The worship is still mainly directed towards the old boṅgas, but we also hear of bh̄uts and of higher gods such as Cando and Ṭhakur, and the ancient Aryan idea of the jealousy of higher powers is known to the Santals, though here it is possible that the idea is old. Many of the sacrificial customs also make the impression of being Aryan or semi-Aryan, and when the women try to perform a sacrifice, they make themselves pujhar or priests.

Altogether we can see how the Aryanization is steadily progressing, and it may be foreseen that the day will come when it has thoroughly refashioned Santal society and partly also the mentality of the people. From the point of view of the comparative study of the development of civilization the Santals of the present day are therefore of exceptional interest, and the folk tales here published offer a rare opportunity for observing the

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laws regulating the interchange of conceptions and institutions between peoples on a different stage of civilization.

The time may soon have past for making such observations. The few examples which I have mentioned show that the changes which have already taken place are great and thorough-going. And even the language is, to a great extent, giving way.

We have already seen many examples of this. Numerous common words are borrowed from Aryan vernaculars, and their number is increasing. In a sentence like *bicaṛ paḥiltalinpe*, first decide between us two, only the final elements *taliṇpe* are Santali, the remainder being Aryan.

This sentence also shows how the foreign elements are assimilated. The vocabulary gives way, but the grammar remains, the new words being inflected according to Santali rules. Thus we find Aryan verbs conjugated in the Santali way, e. g. *calakkan taḥḥkana*, he was going; *bujḥaukeṭa*, he understood, where the bases *cal* and *bujḥau* are Aryan, but the terminations indigenous. In other cases Aryan nouns are inflected as verbs in accordance with Santali grammar, where practically every word can be used to denote the predicate. Thus *biḍakaea*, they sent him off, gave him permission to go; *baḥuadea*, gave him a wife, &c.

This state of things is of interest, because it shows how the process of Aryanizing un-Aryan languages has apparently always been going on in India. The ancient vocabulary is replaced by an Aryan one, but the grammatical principles of the old language assert themselves and give a peculiar shape to the resulting mixed tongue. In Santali we can see this process going on before our eyes, and the comparative philologist will not fail to see the importance of this feature. He will bear it in mind where he is met with a similar state of things, mixed languages where the vocabulary points in one direction and the grammar in another. He will be inclined to think that the grammar belongs to the

old substratum and the vocabulary to a language which has been subsequently engrafted on the old stock.

There are no doubt some features which are apt to make us cautious in drawing such general conclusions. And such are also found in Santali. We find several Aryan postpositions such as *lagit*, for the sake of; *then*, at, with; *songe*, with; *upar*, above. And more especially relative idioms seem to be gradually introduced, while relative constructions seem to have been usually expressed in a different way in the old language. Thus we find *judi*, if; *je mon*, so that; *jāhānakge jaruram*, whatever is necessary for thee, &c.

Here we are met with an introduction of grammatical principles belonging to the language which is gradually superseding Santali, but they do not, in the same way, affect the grammatical framework as the ordinary terminations, and rather bear testimony to an increasing faculty of compound thinking than to a change in grammatical mentality.

That the latter one is still strongly Santali is evident in many ways. I shall only mention the curious use of the inclusive dual in threatening language. Thus we read *amgelañ goćmea*, which apparently means 'I and thou shall kill thee'. Similarly we read in Nr. 22 that there lived a carpenter in a certain village, and then the story goes on: *ar unkinren gidra do mittañ koṛa hopone tahēkantākina*, and of them two a child a boy was of them, and they two, i. e. the carpenter and his wife, had a son.

Such passages are of interest because they throw light on the original meaning of the dual. It does not signify the number two, but one or two who necessarily belong together as a pair. The man who threatens another sees himself in the act which he is to perform as necessarily connected with the other one, and the man who has a son can only have him in necessary connexion with his wife.

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The fact that the original significance of the dual is still strongly felt by the present day Santals, in spite of the Aryan admixture in their language, shows that their linguistic mentality is still strongly Santal. Nevertheless it is to be feared that Santali will some day cease to be a living language. Even at the present time most Santals are bilingual, and the Aryan influence will certainly make itself still more felt in future. The more thankful we must be to Mr. Bodding for making his rich treasure of genuine Santal folk tales available to us.

Sten Konow.

STORIES ABOUT JACKALS

1. T o y o a r h a ř a m b u ř h i r e a ñ .

Noa dõ nonka leka kana. Sedae mare hapramkoko lai akata, adõ cele nitre hõ inã lebeť lanđhutege darabon kana. Adõ onkoge oka dharare cõn leg carko bandhaoket, båndõ durupkate båndõ tengekate, jotoakge sire sire paťhe paťheko leg akat car akata. Gam, kãhni, kudum emanteakko jorao akata. Adõ onkoak sik bidiatege nit hãbić menak hatargea. Nit jorao akat katha dõ bañ kana. Ar noko toyo emanteak reak katha hõ un jokhen reak kangea. Adõ ale Hõř hopõn lekha porha ma bale bađae, ar naťhi se puthi eman dõ banuktalea. Adõ enre hõ cekakote cõn nõkõe menakgetalea, bañ at akantalea. Ar noa olok parhaok ma neko Saheb hopõn rakaťkate se noa disom dokholkate Hõř hopõnko cet akawatkoa. Adõ enre hõ unak hõř olok parhaokko ceketa. Adõ enre hõ Hõř hopõnak jug reak katha naťhi dõhokak lagat dõ okoe hõ bañ sarbharaoetkoa. Ar in hõ Sahebe ñam kante miť bar kathan khere koreć barakak

¹ This expression refers to a statement in the Santal traditions according to which their ancestors at a certain time and place, after having deliberated for either twelve years or twelve days — they profess not to remember which —, gave up old customs and settled new usages, many of them certainly under influence from Hindu custom. The traditions proper do not mention anything of the matters here referred to; but that is no hindrance to popular thought suggesting a similar origin to folktales.

² There may be one or two very small attempts made by Santals to put down in writing something of their old traditions; but it amounts to practically nothing, and this in spite of the really very extensive oral 'literature' which they have. When a Santal gets sufficiently educated to be able to undertake such a work, his interests are generally drawn elsewhere.

1. THE JACKAL AND HUSBAND AND WIFE.

THIS story is as follows. Our ancestors of old have told it, and now also we are, I presume, following in the same trodden path. In whichever manner our forefathers settled customs and usages, whether they did it sitting or standing¹, they have established and made customary all and everything, rules and forms. They have joined together the stories and tales, riddles and so on, and, being learnt as they have told them, these remain with us until this day. They are not stories which have been composed now-a-days. These stories about the jackals are also from that old time. We Santals do not know to read and write; and written sheets or books and the like we have none. Still, somehow or other, we have these stories, as it is seen; they have not been lost to us. These Sahebs have taught the Santals to read and write, after they arrived here or after they took possession of the country. But in spite of so many people having learnt to read and write, still no one has felt impelled to make a record in writing of the old-times story of the Santals². As regards myself, the Saheb³ wants it done, so I am, without any form or method, putting down a few tales, otherwise who knows what I

³ The Saheb is the present writer. The Santal (Sagram Murmu of Mohulpahari) who here introduces himself has been in the writer's employ for about thirty years, and this story was one of the first which he took down for me. This explains this introductory chapter. It might be noted that the word Saheb is, in these eastern parts, pronounced as here written, and not Sahib.

kana, ar bañkhan okoe baðae cõh. Ado noa katha dher lacharte calaoena toyo reakbon laiakorege. Ona do nonka kana.

Sedae jokhen, kathae, mitten korako bahuadea. Ado jokheç jokheçre unkin kuři koŗa do se haram buđhi do nãihãrkin hijuk senoka. Mit din unkin do nãihãr khonkin hijuk kan tahẽkana. Uni kuři do taben khajãriko moŗa goť akawadea. Ona do ñel danaram sandesko metaka. Ar sedae jokhen sunum asen lagat botol colon ma bañ tahẽkan; maejiuko lagat do kupi sunum ar herel hoponko lagat do mat thoŋga, noakin colon tahẽkana. Ar nitkate do botolko colon akata. Noa do saheb hopon rakap̄kate colon akana. Ado ona kupi cukak tahẽkan jokheç reak katha kana noa do.

Ado unre uni kuři do ona taben khajãri moŗa doe dipil akata, ar kupi sunum cukak doe teweñ akata. Ar nãihãr khon jãwãe orahte se uni korawak orahtekin calak kana. Unre koŗa do laha lahateye calak kana ar kuři do tayom tayomte. Ado mittan tapol then kuři doe aŗgo akan jokheŋge, kathae, bhut do oka sen khon coe ođok gotena, onka hoŗ chin lekate, ar uni kuři tayom tayomtegeye sen idik kana. Ar kuři doe meneta, Okate cõh nui hõe calak hoŗ kangea cele. Onate ceť hõ bae metae kana ar bae kuli barayede kana. Ar bela do hasurok lagat bar ðañ gan menaea, inã okte jokhen.

⁴ It is in fact a roundabout way of telling the story. This introduction has been kept here, because it gives a good insight into the Santal mind.

⁵ Two different kinds of parched rice.

⁶ Oil, especially pressed from the seeds of *Bassia latifolia*, or from mustard and similar seeds, is much used to keep the skin smooth and is considered a necessity.

⁷ A kupi is a small earthenware receptacle for oil. Cukak mentioned further on is about the same thing.

⁸ It has been and still is very common for men to carry oil with them in a bamboo-bottle, i. e., a bamboo-joint so cut that one partition 'wall' forms the bottom, while the other one is perforated, a wooden stopper being used for the small hole. Those carried about are generally quite small, others of the same pattern are used at home as receptacles for oil for any purpose. Sometimes Santals carry with them long bamboo sticks, the upper joint being used as an oil-bottle.

should have done. Now this was a rather roundabout way when we should tell about a jackal⁴. But the story is this way.

Once upon a time, in the old days, people tell, it happened that a young man had been married. From time to time these two, the boy and the girl, or to be correct, husband and wife, used to go visiting the wife's old home. One day they were on their way back from this place, and there they had given the girl some *taben* and *khajāri*⁵, which she had tied up in a cloth. This people call visitors' food-present. In the old days it was not the custom to carry oil about with oneself in a bottle⁶; for women it was the custom to use a *kupi*⁷, a small bottle of earthenware, and for men a bamboo receptacle⁸, these two. Now-a-days people have introduced the use of bottles; this has become the custom after the coming of the Sahebs. This tale refers to the time when the earthenware pot was in use.

At the time the girl was carrying the bundle with *taben* and *khajāri* on her head, and the earthenware pot she was carrying in a string hanging down from her hand. They were on their way to the husband's house, i. e. this young man's home. At the time the boy was walking in front and the girl after him⁹. Once, whilst the girl had gone down into a hollow in the ground, a *bhut* suddenly came out from somewhere, in the likeness of a human being, and commenced walking behind her. The girl thought by herself: "This is presumably also a man who is on his way somewhere." She did not say anything to him, and he did not ask her any question. The sun was near the horizon, about two poles up¹⁰; that was the time.

⁹ It is customary to walk one behind the other in Indian file. When the family is out, the husband generally, but not necessarily walks behind.

¹⁰ When the sun is near setting, i. e. after *huḍiñ dak lo ber*, or after about 5 p. m., time is shown by saying, that the sun is one or more poles up. 'A pole' is about so high up as the sun is some fifteen minutes before sunset, two poles about, but perhaps not quite, half an hour before sunset. It might be noted that the sun is setting fairly vertically, not like in our northern latitudes.

Khange uni kora do cekakote coe beŋget ruarlet doe nelkede do, ac bahu tayom tayomte mit hore calak kan. Khangeye teŋgoyena. Ado jemon uni korae teŋgoyena, temon khange bhut do uni kuriye or ruarede kana. Khange uni kora do theŋga epelkateye nir hec gotena. Are ruhet gotkede, Inren hor cet iatem jotetkede? Nitgelaŋ dal goe utarnea.

Ado bhute menketa, Nui ma inren hor kane, ar am mam pera hor kan. Onate am ma lahatem calak kan, nui mam bagiae kan. Judi amren hore tahentam khan, bam sotokkea? Nelme, in do inren hor iateŋ sotok akadegea. Ado or bankhan in cekayea? Am do okate com calak kan, do calakme. Nui do in orakten idiye lagat.

Ado onka menkate kora ho mit ti sopoye sap akadea ar nui bhut ho mit ti sopoye sap akadea. Uni ho ontaye ore kana, nui ho noteye ore kana. Ado un jokhen uni kuri doe hohoketa, Dela baba, hortenko birtenko, jahae menakpe khan, hijukte dokkanpe, ar bankhan in dokin ciraj jomeŋ kana.

Ado un jokheŋge, kathae, toyo do oka sen con atine calak kan tahēkana. Ado uniye hohoket khan, ona anjomte toyo doe nir hec gotena. Ado men gotketa, Cedak, cedak, cedakpe țana țanik kana?

Ado uni hor korae men gotketa, Nui kuri doe in bahu kana, in orakten idiyede kana, naihār khonlin hijuk kana. Ado nui ia sala do oka khon coe odok gotente in bahu doe or ruarede kana.

Khange uni bhute men gotketa, Baŋa, nui kuri doe in bahu kana, ona iate in do nui sotokkaten hijuk kana, baŋ bagiae kana. Ar nui ia salage alin laha lahate okate coe calak kan tahēkan. Ado aline nelketlin khan do, theŋga epelkateye nir hec gotena, ado ine dhomkaoedin kana. Ar in bahu sopore sapkateye ore kana. Ado cak in idi ocoaea? Ado niā karontegele țana țanik kana.

¹¹ When using threatening language about doing something or other to the one spoken to, it is very common to use the inclusive dual form and not the singular.

¹² The word, translated 'stranger' may mean a relative or a friend. The meaning here seems to be a stranger, but of the Santal race.

Then the young man somehow or other happened to look round and saw a man was coming along walking behind his wife. Then he stopped; but just as the young man stopped, at the same moment the bhut caught hold of the girl and pulled her backwards. The young man then ran up to them, brandishing his stick. "Why did you touch my wife?" he scolded him. "Now this moment we two¹¹ shall thrash the life out of you entirely."

"Why, this is my wife," the bhut said, "and you are a stranger¹². That is why you are walking on in front and are leaving this one behind. If she were your wife, would you not follow and look after her? Look, because she is my wife, I am following and looking after her. Then, have I not the right to take hold of her, or how? You go wherever you are going to. I am taking her to my house."

During this talk the young man had taken a firm hold of one hand, and the bhut had done the same with the other hand of the girl. The young man was pulling her in one direction, and the bhut in the other direction. Just at that time the girl called out: "Come, sirs, wayfarers, forest-dwellers, any one who may be near here, come and rescue me; else they are tearing me to pieces and will finish me."

At that time, people tell, a jackal was on his way somewhere to seek food. When the girl called out, the jackal heard it, came running to the spot at once, and said: "Why, why, why are you at variance?"

The young man then spoke out: "This girl is my wife; I am taking her home; we are coming from her parents' home. This unspeakable villain came out from who knows where and is pulling her back."

"Not at all," the bhut then said, "this girl is my wife; therefore I am taking her along, following after her; I am not leaving her behind. And this unspeakable villain was walking in front of us two, who knows whereto; then, when he saw us, he came running up to us, brandishing his stick, and he is using threats towards me. He has caught hold of my wife's hand and is pulling at her. Why should I let him take her away? This is what we are at variance for.

Ado khangé toyoe mênketa, Hape, alope tana tanika, bicarle-gebon. Ado uni toyoe bujhauketa, mit dœ bhut kana mente. Khangé toyo dœ kûriye metadea, Ona tire dœ cetem teweñ akata? Desêñ hêltama. Adœ emadea. Toyo dœ ona kupi reak sunume dul gidikatte cukak dœ kûrigeye emadea. Ado toyoe mênketa, Jâhâege noa cukakreben bôlo dareak, inige nui kûri dœ hataoyea; ar ôkœ bae bôlo dareak hœr dœ bae namea.

Khangé bhut dœ mên gôtketa, Acha besge. Dœ ho, tôbœ bôlôk-talanme.

Ado uni hœr kœra dœ mênketa, Ohôn bôlôlena.

Ar uni bhut dœ phuc manteye bôlo gôtena. Ado jemœne bôlo gôtlœna, tœmœngekin kilap eset gôtkedea. Are metatkina, Noa cukak dœ aloben idia, nœndœ barœ gidikaben.

Ado sari œndœgekin bagiatte akin dœkin calaoena. Ado pharak hœk sœnkate toyokin hœhœadete tabenkin emadea.

Ado œnœ niâ katha hœñ mucatketeta.

2. T o y o a r t a r u p r e a n .

Sedae jœkhen, kathae, mittan birre tarup adiye cankelen tahêkana, metakme gai kaða, merôm bhiði, sœ hœr hœe jœmetko tahêkana. Nonka lekate adi barice cankelen tahêkana, jâhâege bir bôlo akan sœye atkir gœtetko tahêkana. Ina dhara dhœriren hœr saname berœstœ cabaketkoa, Ar uni goje reak adi lekako upaiketa, mênkhan oka lekate hœ bako dhœj dareae kana. Dher hœrko sœnlen khan ma hœnge bako name. Ar mit bar hœr ona bir sœnko sœnlen khan, mae kutuñ gœtkako kana.

Khangé ado ina dhara dhœriren hœr jarwakateko rœr thikketa, Ma arhœ hœrbo laiakoa, Nui tarup dœbon sendra gojea, ar bankhan

¹ It might be mentioned that leopards are very common in the forests of the country where the Santals live.

² The proceedings mentioned are as the writer has known such to happen. Some villages join together to get rid of a dangerous animal. The proposal to cut down the forest would not, however, be feasible at the present day.

"Please wait," the jackal said, "do not fight one another. Let us first investigate the case." Now the jackal understood that one was a bhut. So he said to the girl: "What is it you have there hanging down from your hand? Please, let me have a look at what you have." She gave it to him, and the jackal poured out the oil that was in the kupi and gave the pot back to the girl. Thereupon the jackal said: "That one of you two who can enter into this pot, he shall have this girl; the one who cannot do that, he shall not have her."

"All right," the bhut said at once; "now then, get in for us."

"I shall never get into that," the young man said.

Then the bhut entered with a swish, and the moment he got in, they at once closed the mouth of the pot and shut the bhut up. And the jackal said to them: "Don't take this pot along with you; throw it away here."

They did so and left it there and went their way. When they were some distance off, they called the jackal and gave him taben.

So there now, I have finished this story also.

2. THE JACKAL AND THE LEOPARD.

ONCE upon a time in the old days, people tell, a leopard¹ had been haunting a forest, that is, he was eating cows and buffaloes, goats and sheep, and people also. In this way he had become very ravenous; if anybody went into the forest, he would at once carry them off. The people in the vicinity, all of them, he had frightened out of their wits. They planned and tried in many ways to kill him, but were utterly unable to manage it. If many people went in search of him, then, of course, they did not find him. And if one or two went to the forest, then he, of course, carried them off at once.

So the people of the neighbourhood came together² and, after some discussion, agreed to the following: "Let us inform people that we are going to kill this leopard, or else, that we shall cut the trees

noa birgebon mak tãñdi utara. Ado nonkako solhaketteko dharwak-keta, banma, Niã phalna din hilok noa birbon sendraea, tarupbon gojea, ar bankhan birgebon mak ujar̃te nui tarup dõbon laga nirea.

Ado sari inã neñda din hilok dõ udi utar phadko jarwayena. Ar aema tamakko jarwaketa, arko ruyeta, cet ban se, ona reak sadete ot ultaũk leka aikauena. Khange ona sade anjomte uni tarup dõe botõrente ona bir khon nir odokente etak birteye ucarok kan tahẽkana. Nonka ac monreye hudisana, Noko hor̃ din hilok ma bako sendrayin, eken tehen motoge tho. Acha, tehen din dõ jahã dosra birten sa hatarlenge. Ado okareko namẽnteko gojena? Arhõ gapa don heckenge. Ado onka men barakateye ucarok kan tahẽkana.

Ado ona bir tala talate dõ mittan dahar sen akana, ar ona dahartege en hilok dõ bepari chala dangrawanteko calak kan tahẽkana. Ado jemõn nui hõ botõrte noa bir khone ucarok kan tahẽkana, temõnge onko bepari hor̃ tuluce napam gotena. Khange adõe metãkoa, Iã ho, bepari hor̃, mĩf kathañ metape kana. Judi inak kathape anjomletiñ khan, ar ona kathape dõholetiñ khan, jaejug hãbiẽ reak apeak suk hoeyoktapea. Ar bape anjomtiñ khan, ar ona katha bape dõhoetiñ khan, apeak dõ ãdi bariẽ harkhet hoeyoktapea. Ente iñ ma noa birren raj kanaan, bãdaepe. Tin dhao iñ nampea, uñ dhaoge dangrañ jomkotapea.

Khange adõko metadea, Acha besge, masẽ ente rõrlem cet lekan katha kantama. Adõle anjomle nãhi jahãtak dõle rora.

³ When a day for a public function has been fixed, people are notified as described. Somebody is sent with a branch of the sal-tree (*Shorea robusta*, Gaertn.) to the market-places or similar public places where many people meet, sometimes with a drum. The branch has so many leaves as there are days left before the gathering takes place. This way of notifying may be seen every year in connexion with the tribal hunts. It might be noted that something similar is used to keep count of the occurrence of family gatherings, especially marriages. Here a string is sent to every family invited to be present, with as many knots tied on each as there are days before the celebration. The families untie one knot every evening. When all knots have been removed, the day has arrived.

⁴ The drums used are what the Santals call *ta mak*, a kettle-drum made of iron covered with leather. It is used for making noise and for signalling, also sometimes in connexion with dances. It is a hunting and war-drum. It makes a

down and clear the forest entirely." After having decided on this they sent the branch³ round with this notice: "On such and such a day we are to hunt in this forest. We must kill the leopard, or else we shall have to cut the forest down to drive this leopard away."

On the day fixed an immense crowd came together. They brought a lot of drums together and were drumming, you can scarcely imagine what a noise; at the din of it it was felt as if the ground were turning upside down⁴. When the leopard heard this noise, he was frightened and ran out of this forest to move over into another. He was thinking by himself: "These people will not hunt me every day; it is surely only to-day. All right, to-day I shall take myself off to some other forest, in the meantime. Then, where will they find me and kill me? To-morrow I shall be coming back." Thinking thus he was on his way to another place.

Now a road is running through the middle of that forest, and that very day traders with their beasts of burden were passing along that road, and just as the leopard, in fear, was moving out of the forest, at that moment he ran across the traders. Then he spoke to them: "I say, you traders, I have one thing to say to you: if you listen to what I have to say and do as I tell you, there will be no end to the happiness you will get. But if you don't listen to me and will not do as I tell you, you will get into awful trouble. For know this, I am the king of this forest⁵. So often as I meet you, every time I shall eat your bullocks."

"All right," they said to him, "speak then and let us first hear what it is you have to say. Only when we have heard that, can we say anything."

tremendous noise. When a party like that one here described has a number of drums beaten, it may be heard some five-six kilometres away. It is a terrible din which leaves no room for anything else.

⁵ It is common in Santali to speak of leopards, and, of course, tigers when such are there, as *buru raj*, i. e., mountain king. They are lording it and are subject to none. Sometimes expressions are used which might seem to imply that these 'kings' are masters only within certain circumscribed spheres, something like what the leopard here, hints at.

Ado unreye menketa, Ia ho, katha do noa kana: tehen do inko gojen lagat horko jarwa akana. Ote tamakko ruyet kan. Ado sendrakate inko gojen lagat. Ado onateh nehōrape kana sen metape kana, tehen din noko sendra hor khonpe bancaolin khan, adi boge hoekoktapea. Dayakate mage oko bancaokan tabonpe. Nia noako bosta reak mal do up gidikape, ar inge ona bostare bhorao okokaŋpe. Ado noko sendra horko parom calaolen khan, rarakanpe. Katha do niage.

Ado khangе onko bepari horko cepet barayenteko menketa, Acha besge, aika noa katha jaejug tire juge tahentabo ma. Sin kan ninda kan, hijukale senokale, aika nae bare napae bare hoeyoktale ma; dangra se hor alom jomlea.

Ado menketa, He ho ente, one con in ma laharen laiatpege. Ado nonkan muhim khonpe bancaolin khan, noa reak cedak gun ban manaoa? Do, noa do cirokal napaege tahentabona. Jaha tinak nut nindape hijuk senok, in reak do alogepe botoroka.

Ado onkako kiria barayen khan, kathae, mitan bosta reak malko up gidikata, ado ona bostare uni tarupko bolu ocokedeteko tol esetkedeade, ar chala dangrareko ladekedeade. Ar dangrako lagaketkote ona bir khon doko paromkedeade. Ar onko sendra phad ho bako nam dareadete apan apin akoak orakkoteko ruar calaena.

Ado un jokhenko laiae kana, banma, Ona bir khon dole parom aguketmete etak birbon tiok akata. Ar onko am sesendrako hoko ruar caba barayena, mit hor gan ho banukkoa.

Ado khangе tarupe menketa, Tobe khan ma nendege rarakan-tabonpe. Ado khangе bhagteko rara lede namlede uni tarup dore ror gotketa, Nit mape bancaokadin, jom adopean. Dangra hon jomkotapea, ar ape hon jompegea. Onka adoe boro ocoketkoa.

⁶ There are stories about people going for certain purposes being thought secure against attacks from animals. One of this kind will be translated below.

Then the leopard said: "I say, you good people, it is this: to-day people have come together to kill me. Listen, they are beating the drums: they are hunting and want to kill me. Therefore I implore you, or rather I tell you, if you to-day rescue me from these hunting people, it will be a very good thing for you. Please show kindness and hide and save me. Throw out the goods you have in one of these bags, and then put me into that bag and hide me. When these hunting people have passed away, you may let me out. That is all."

The traders then took counsel together and said: "All right, but understand this: this agreement shall remain between us for ever and always. By day and by night we the traders shall go and come, mind you, no accident or injury shall happen to us. Do not eat our bullocks or our men."

"Yes, surely," he replied, "that is just what I told you beforehand. And if you save me from such a danger, why should I not show my gratitude for it? Be sure, this shall be kept unbroken for all ages between us. Let it be the darkest possible night when you go and come; do not be afraid of me⁶ at all."

When they had sworn in this way, they threw the goods out of a bag and let the leopard enter into it and tied him well up, whereupon they loaded him on a pack-bullock, drove the bullocks along and brought the leopard past the forest. The army of hunters, thus, were not able to find him, so they returned home, every one to his own house.

After this they spoke to the leopard saying: "We have now brought you past that forest and have reached another, and those who were hunting for you have also all returned home; there is not a single one left."

"Then let me out here," the leopard said. No sooner had they let him out and set him free than the leopard said: "Now you have saved me, to be sure; I shall eat you in return. I shall eat your bullocks, and you also I shall eat." In this way he frightened them.

Ado onko horko menketa, Acha besge, jomlegeam. Hape tobe khan noa reakbon bicar ocolege. Judi onko bikcar horko hukumle khan, jomlem bare, onate jahān hat ad do banuktalea.

Ado tarupe menketa, Acha besge. Okpe thenpe bicar ocoea? Delabo idibonpe.

Ado inakore hor ma bako nelok kan. Ado matkom dareko nel namketa. Adoko menketa, Acha, delabo ona darebo bicar ocoyea. Ado kathae, ona dare then calaoenteko metae kana, Ia dare, bicarkatalem. Nui tarup doko goje kan tahkana, adu unrele bancaokedete ho ban? Ar nit doe metale kana, Jom adopegean. Pahl doe menketa, Nia muhim khonpe bancaoliñ khan do, ohon jompea; ar nit doe metale kana, Jompegean. Ado dese bhala noage bicarkatalem.

Khange dareye men gotketa, Jomreye jompea. Ape manwa jat do adipe kharapgea. Dare umulre hope durupa, ar dare hope makaka, ar rehet hope makaka, onate khatigeye jompegea.

Khange tarupe menketa, Ote con bicaren, jompegean.

Ado onko horko menketa, Hape, ar bar thenbo bicar ocolege. Ado onde ho nonkage hukum hoelen khan, jomlem bare.

Ado tarupe menketa, Acha besge, delabon ayurbonpe.

Ado mitan darhako nel namketa. Adoko menketa, Delabon ona darha dakbon bicar ocoyea. Ado onde senkateko metae kana, Ia darha, bicarkatalem. Nui tarup doko goje kan tahkana, unreye metalea, Noa muhim khonpe bancaoliñ khan do, ohon jompea. Adole bancaokedete ho ban? Adoe, metale kana, Jom adopean. Ado dese bhala bicarkatalem.

⁷ The *Bassia latifolia*, Roxb., a large and very common tree, in Santali called matkom. Here a Hindi name is used, the one commonly used in official documents. The flowers which fall down during the early hours at blossoming time (the commencement of the hot season) are collected and dried and used for sundry purposes, as food for men and cattle, and to distil liquor from. The fruit is eaten, and the kernel is used for pressing oil. It is a most useful tree.

"Very well," they said, "you will eat us surely. But wait then, we must first get somebody to judge in this matter. If the judges pass such an order, please eat us, we shall take no shelter then."

"All right," the leopard said. "With whom are you going to seek judgement? Come, take us all there."

No one was to be seen there in the vicinity. Then they saw a mahua⁷ tree and said: "Well, let us ask that tree⁸ to judge." Whereupon they went to that tree and said to it: "Look here, you tree, judge in our case. They were trying to kill this leopard. Then we saved him, don't you see? But now he says to us: I shall eat you in return. At first he said: If you save me from this danger, I shall never eat you. And now he says to us: I shall eat you surely; so now, please, judge this matter of ours."

"He shall certainly eat you," the tree said at once. "You human beings are very wicked. You sit in the shadow of a tree, and a tree you also use the axe on, and the roots also you use the axe on. Therefore he shall surely eat you."

"Listen," the leopard said, "listen, there judgement was passed. I shall eat you."

"Wait," the traders said, "let us hear judgement from two more. If there also the same order is passed, please eat us."

"All right," the leopard said, "come along, lead us on."

They next caught sight of a water-pool and said: "Come, let us ask that water-pool to judge." So they went there and said to the water-pool: "Listen, you water-pool, judge in our case. They were trying to kill this leopard. At that time he said to us: If you save me from this danger, I shall surely not eat you. Then we saved him, don't you see? But he says to us: I shall eat you in return. So now please judge our case."

⁸ It might be noted that trees and other objects may be quoted by Santals as witnesses, or rather, appealed to.

Ado darhae menketa, Jomreye jompea. Ape manwa jat do adipe kharapgea. Nelpe, in do nu hope nuh kana, ar ic hope abukan kana, onate khatigeye jompegea.

Ado tarupe menketa Ote con, bar then ma bicaren. Jompegean.

Ado un khangе onko bepari hor doko lukut lukudok kana. Menetako, Durre! nahak khatigeye jombongea. Arhoko meneta, Acha, jahanakge hoyoktabon, mit thenbo bicar ocolege.

Ado tarupe menketa, Acha besge, dela idibonpe.

Ado calak calakte mitan toyoko nel tiokkede. Adoko menketa, Acha, delabo uni toyobo bicar ocolege. Ado judi uni ho nonkageye hukumae khan, cetbo menkea? Nonka hudiskate bebhorsa-kateko calak kana. Ado tiok hokkede khanko hohodea, E ho, hape tengolenme, mitan bicarkatalem.

Khangeye tengoyena; adoe kuliketkoa, Mase laipe, cetpe bicar ocoo lagat. Onkae kuliyetkoa, ar metah sene benget rakapako kan do, sanamge aditet bapuric metahako helok kan.

Ado botor botorteko rorketa, Nui tarup doko goje kan tahе-kana, ado unreye metatlea, De ni muhim khon bancaokanpe. Judi ni dhaope bancaolin khan, ninda nuta hijuk senok tisre ho ohon jompea. Nonka kiriakate bosta reak mal gidikatte nuigele bhorao okokede. Onko sendra horoko ruaren khan do bosta khonle rarakadea, arle metadea, Ma nit do senjonme. Ado khangeye metale kana, Uh! nit mape bancaokidin, jom adopegean. Ado de bhala, noage bicarkatalem. Bancaokedete ho ban? Arho alegeye jomle lagat. Ninakgea kathatale do.

Khangе toyo do tarupe kulikede, Cele ho, katha do onka leka kana se cet leka? Bankhanem menkea, In do mit katha gan

⁹ Santals, after a call of nature, always wash themselves using the left hand, which for this reason must not be used for anything in connexion with food, saluting, handing anything to others, and so on. The left hand is, on this account, often called *le ti*, the excrement hand. It might be noted that the Santal ojas (medicine-men) use their left hand when applying medicine externally, probably to have the right hand undefiled, although the reason given is that the right hand is not propitious for such work.

"He shall certainly eat you," the water-pool said. "You human beings are very wicked. See, me you drink, and me you also use for washing yourself⁹ when you have gone to stool. Therefore he shall surely eat you."

"Listen," the leopard said, "listen, at two places judgement has been passed. I shall eat you."

From then the traders were trembling with fear saying: "Alas, in a moment he will surely eat us." Again they said: "Very well, whatever will be our fate, we shall first hear judgement at one place more."

"All right," the leopard said, "come, take us along."

As they were walking along, they caught sight of a jackal and said: "Well then, come let us ask the jackal to judge. If he also passes him such an order, what can we say?" Thinking so and quite without hope, they walked on. When they came near to him, they called out to him: "Hey you there, wait, stop a moment, there is a matter we want you to judge for us."

The jackal stopped and asked them: "Please then, tell what is it you want to have passed judgement on?" As he asked them this and looked up into their faces, he saw that all of them were looking utterly downcast.

Speaking in fear and trembling they said: "This leopard, — they were trying to kill him; then he said to us: Do save me from this danger. If you save me this time, at night and in darkness, when you come and go, I shall not eat you, no, never at all. After he had sworn in this way, we threw away the goods we had in a bag, put him in, and hid him. When the hunters had returned home, we released him, and let him out of the bag and said to him: Please now go your way. Then he says to us: Ho, now you have saved me; I shall eat you in return, surely. Do, please, pass judgement in this case for us. We saved him also, don't you see? Now he is on the point of eating us. That is all there is to our case."

Then the jackal asked the leopard: "I say, sir, is the case like that or how? Otherwise you might say: He did not ask me one

hō bae kulilidiña. Onateñ kuliyetmea. Ma laime se, katha dō enka kangea?

Adō uni tārūpe mēnketa, Baña, katha dō enka kangea.

Adō noko hōre kuliyetkoa, Henda baba, oko ma okogepe laiyet kan, adō onage thō bañ bujhauettapea. Cet lekape okoledea? Udukañpe, in mētteñ hellege, tōbe nāhī thik dōñ bicāra.

Adōko metae kana, Bostarele bhorao okoledea.

Arhō tārūpe kuli gotkadea, Sāri ho, bostareko bhoraoletmea? Adōe mēnketa, Hē sārige.

Adō onko hōre metako kana, Mase udukañpe, cet lekaledape. Onako jotoge udukañpe.

Khange mit hōr dōe bujhau thik gotketteye mēn gotketa, Dela hijukmēñ okolemge. Khange uni tārūp dō bostareye bōlōyen khan, uni hōr dō khub lekae tōl urickedeā, are mēnketa, Nōkkōe nonkale okoledea ar dāngrarele lade āgu akadea.

Adō toyoe mēnketa, Acha besge. Hape, bes okōcte āri bāndhiñ hellege. Adō un jōkhen uniye bujhau nōkket hōre isarat gotadea. Khange uni hōr dō maraṇ utār dhiri hare phareye dipil āgu gotkette ēkkalte bōhōkregeye giḍi gotadea. Adō jōtō hōrte tiñko tiñkedeā dō, ēkkalteko tiñ gōc utārkedeā.

Khange toyo dō onko hōre metatkoa, Nēlketape? In iate bañkhan nui nimukharami hōr dōe jōmkepegea. Adō unākpe dayawade reak gun dō okortae? In alo khan hutēc khatigeye jōmkepegea.

Adō unreko mēnketa, Hē baba, boge Cando lekam hēcēn, bañkhan sāri utārgeye jōmkelegea, ona reak digdhādō bañ kana.

Adō noa katha hō cabayena.

single word. Therefore I am asking you. Please say, is the case like that?"

"Quite so," the leopard answered, "the case is exactly like that."

Then the jackal asked the traders: "I say, sirs, you mention hiding; now that is what I do not quite understand in what you tell. In which way did you hide him? Show it to me. I must see it with my own eyes, then only I shall be able to judge properly."

"We put him into a bag and hid him," they replied.

Again he asked the leopard: "Is that so, sir? Did they put you into a bag?"

"Yes," he replied, "that is what they did."

Then he said to the traders: "Please show me how you treated him. Show me all of it."

One of the men suddenly saw what he was driving at and said: "Come here, let me hide you." When the leopard had entered into the bag, the man tied him up as tightly as he could, and said: "Look here, in this way we hid him and brought him along, loaded on a bullock."

"Very well then," the jackal said, "let me first have a good look and note everything carefully." At the same time he made a sign to the man who had understood what he was driving at, and this man at once fetched a huge stone, carrying it on his head, and straight away threw it at his head. Thereupon all of them started stoning the leopard and stoned him to death then and there.

The jackal then said to the traders: "Do you see? I helped you, otherwise this ungrateful person would have eaten you. Why, where was his gratitude that you had shown him so much kindness? If I had not been here, he would certainly have eaten you."

"Yes, sir," the traders said, "it was fortunate you came like Chando, otherwise he would surely indeed have eaten us; there is no doubt about that."

So this story is also ended.

3. T o y o r e a k k h i s a .

Mit̃aṇ hōr aḱin apa hōnkin tapamlena. Adō haṛamge bae daṛelena, ota ocoyenae. Adō bhala uni dō koṛa hōr ar nui dō haṛam hōr, koṛa tuluc dō cake daṛeka? Adō bae daṛelente haṛam dō bicar ocoe lagaṭ hōre lai baṛawaṭkoa. Adōko metadea, Acha, ma sēn laha hataṛokme, uni koṛa lai hataṛaeme, jēmōn jāhāte aloe calak. Ma nāhāk ale dōle calak kana. Adō enka mēnkate uni dōko kol laha goṭkadea.

Adō oṛakre sēnkate uni haṛam dō hōponteṭ koṛae metae kana, Iṛ ya phalna, laṛiam kanaṇ jāhātem sēn bōṭēkoka, alom calaka. Onē holam ota akadiṇ, ona galmarao ocoko lagaṭ hōr iṇ rak akawaṭkoa. Nitgeko hijuk lagaṭ, onateṇ lai lahawam kana.

Adō unre koṛae mēnketa, Henda baba, alaṇ apa hōnlaṇ tapamena, adō cedak mōṛē hōr ṭhen dōm lalisketa? Onko ma nāhāk alaṅgeko jōmlaṇa. Alaṇ eskarte dō huteṭ oḥolaṇ jutlea?

Adō haṛame mēnketa, Oḱo baḍae, jutkok cōṇ baṇ cōṇ. Aḱi āṭem kurudadiṇte aḱi baṛicēm otakidiṇa, ona ṭeṛōṇ mōṛē hōr ṭhen dōṇ lalisketa, ar baṅkhan huteṭ cak iṇ lalisa? Adō jage mōṛē hōr nisāpre hoyok kan, onalaṇ aṇjōmlege.

Adō koṛae mēnketa, Iṛ ba, iṇ miṭ kathaṇ metam kana, aṇjōm-tiṇme baṛē. Iṇ dō baṛtiṇ dōs akata: holanaḱ edre ma teheṇ dō kusiṛ dal daleṇme. Onate dō ceṭ hō oḥōṇ metama ar baṇ dal ruṛmea. Eṇteṇ bujketa, hola dō bēbujkate am janamdata hōr iṇ

¹ The introduction to this story is an example of how the Santal folktales may be told, and the rôle they may play in the life of the people.

² The proceedings here described are a good example of how the village council is appealed to and called together. The complainant goes to the village headman, who sends his *goḱet* or messenger to call the village people. The council is a kind of court of arbitration.

³ 'So and so', in Santal *phalna*, means that the name of the person in question is used.

⁴ 'To eat one' is a very common expression about doing anything in excess, taking too much, and so on. It is very frequently used about destruction supposed to be caused by bongas or witches. Here the meaning is, that the village council will fine and otherwise make these two pay more than they can afford.

3. THE ASTUTENESS OF THE JACKAL¹.

Two men, father and son, had been fighting with each other, and the old man did not get the better of it, he was thrown down and pressed against the ground. No wonder, the one was a young man and the other an old man, how should he be able to get the better of it with a young man? As it went this way with him, the old man told the village people of it, to get them to judge in the matter. They told him: "Very well, you go home in the meantime and tell the boy, so that he does not go anywhere. We are coming presently." With these words they sent him home in advance².

When he reached home, the old man spoke to the boy: "I say, so and so³, I tell you — you might go somewhere, — don't go. That which happened yesterday when you threw me down, — I have appealed to the village people and asked them to talk the matter over. They are coming just now; therefore I am telling you this beforehand."

Then the young man said: "Look here, father, we two, father and son, had a fight; why should you complain to the village council? They will presently devour⁴ both of us. 'Should we not be able to settle this matter between ourselves, we two alone?'"

"Who knows," the old man said, "whether that would do or not. You showed an awful anger and pressed me to the ground something terrible; therefore I have complained to the village people; otherwise, why should I complain? Whatever it may come to in the estimation of the Five, that we shall pay heed to."

"I say, governor," the young man replied, "I have one word to say to you; please listen to me. I am most at fault; in return for yesterday's anger please give me to-day a beating to your heart's content. I shall not say a word to you and I shall not strike back, because I have understood that yesterday I very wickedly laid hands on you, who have given me life; that is my

jotet gotketmea, noa dō ināk bhul kami kana. Adō enka rōr sōtege haramak jaŋgae sapkedeteye nehōradea are menketa, Baba, ikakañme, ađi utar in dōs akata.

Adō harame dayayenteye menketa, Beta, nehōrenteyem ikakam kanañ. Ar in metam kana, adō tisre hō nonka harām hōr se buđhi hōr sōŋge dō alope thōka ar alope dabaokoa. Ente onko dō ako lagat dō bako rōra, ape hōponko lagitge. Ar ape hōponko dō agu pichu bape bujhaute harām hōr se buđhi hōr dōpe dabao gotetkoa arpe kargo gotetkoa. Adō teheñ khon onkan cōlon dō bagime. Adō mōrē hōr in rak akawatkoa, adō khatige nāhākko hijuka. Adō un jōkhen am dō oṛak bhitri khonge alom ođokoka, hōhōam khan dō gōñ dō gōñkom, menkhan alom ođokoka. Ar jāhānakko kulime khan, cet hō alom laiakoa. Adō enkae sikhau barakadea, adōkin thir barayena.

Adō inā miť ghāri khangē atoren hōr dōko heć jarwayena, adō besge duṛup teŋgone metatkoa. Duṛup jarwa barayenako. Adōko kupuli barayena, Cele ho, jōtōbon heć cabayena se bañ?

Adōko menketa, Hē, jōtōbon jarwa thik barayena cele. Adō deśe bhala nui phalna harām kuliyetabonpe cetko lagate doat delawatbona. Adō uni khon oṛ babon ŋamle hōtete dō, oka lekabon katha oco daṛeaka? Adō uni harāmko kulikedeā, Deśe baba, am phalna, cetko lagatem dela jarwaketlea? Ma duk suk dō laiāleme.

Adō uni harame menketa, Onē cōñ, baba mōrē hōr, in ma enañre cōñ jōtō kathañ lai caba akawatpe, inākoge cele katha dō.

Khangē onkoko menketa, Koṛa dō okare menaea?

Adōe metatkoa, Oṛakrege menaeā, onē enañpe mēn gotadiñte okate hō bañ sēn oco akawadea. Adō ma apeege hōhōape.

⁵ Also among the Santals it is very common that a person appealing to the mercy and kindness of somebody catches hold of this one's feet, and does not let go until he has got what he wants.

⁶ i. e. the village council.

⁷ The whole shows the loose and free manner of getting along. Anyone who feels enough interested may take the lead, always provided that he acts in accordance with the sense of the whole company.

⁸ He addresses the council as 'father': they represent society.

wrongdoing." As he spoke thus he caught hold of the old man's feet⁵ and implored him. "Father," he said, "forgive me, I have sinned very much."

The old man felt pity and said: "Son, you have asked for mercy, so I forgive you. But I tell you this, never at all quarrel in such a way with an old man or an old woman, and don't illtreat them. Because they do not act for themselves, it is you children they are acting for. And as you children do not understand the ins and outs of things, you illtreat the old people, your parents, and bear them down. Quit such behaviour from to-day. Now I have appealed to the Five⁶, and they will be sure to come presently. But when they are here, don't you come out from the house; when they call out to you, answer them, but don't come out. And if they ask you any question, do not tell them anything." In this way he instructed him, whereupon they did not say anything more.

A short while afterwards the village people came together, and the old man very politely asked them to sit down. They found seats and then asked one another: "Well, how is it, have we come all of us or how?"

"Yes," they said, "we have all come together all right. Well then, please ask this so and so³ old man for us for what purpose he has called on us and asked us to come⁷. If we do not hear from him what it really is, how should we be able to take the matter up?" So they asked the old man: "Well then, sir, you so and so, for what purpose is it that you have called us together? Please tell us what is the matter."

The old man replied: "Well look, respected⁸ Five, a short while ago this morning I have told you all and everything; that is what there is to it."

"Where is the boy?" the people asked.

"He is at home," he replied; "in accordance with what you told me this morning, I have not let him go away anywhere. Please, you call him."

Adoko hohgae kana. Khange gon doe gonetkoge, adoko odotho bae odokoko kana. Pe pon dhaoko hohketre ho, jononge bae odoklena. Ado harangeko metadea, Ale hohote do bae odokoko kana. Ma am bare hohgaeme.

Ado uni harame boloyena, ado cetko cokin galmarao baraket. Ado odokkate moro hore metako kana, Ia baba moro hor, cet bape galmarao? En kathae onako do jotolin jutketa. Ma nia dhao do ruarjonpe; arho judiye onkaketa menkhan, unre do bantetgebon bagiaea, ekkaltebon sap dhumbak utarea. Ma nia dhao dobon ikakaea.

Ado unre moro hor toyo reak khisako roketa. Ona do nonka kana:

Mitnan toyo andia hoe randi akan tahkana ar mitnan toyo enga hoe randi akan tahkana. Ado unkin randi randikinge mit din do atin atintekin napamena. Ado khangekin akinena. Ado unrekin galmaraojon kana, Nit ma alangelan haram budhiyena. Ado hapen cekalekate gidra dolan asulkoa? Ado budi balan khatole khan, alan ho cekate balan asulok?

Ado unre, kathae, uni andia toyo doe rok gotketa, Uh! cekate hale balan asuloka? In then do baro bhari se baro gadi budi menaktina, unakre ho balan asuloka? Albog janielan asulokgea. Acha, am do tinak budi menaktama?

Khange uni enga toyo doe menketa, In do tinak ban menaktin? Ina arak sit tunkite mit tunki budi menaktina.

Ado kathae, inakin galmarao jokhenge tarupteko se tarup tulud dokin napam gotena. Khange, kathae, uni tarup doe rok gotketa, He, tehen don nam akatbena. Khange, kathae, unkin do uric hopon lekakin dupai dupaiyena. Arho uni andia do dhertetgeye dupai-

⁹ The basket here mentioned, in Santali *tunka*, is a small basket with a comparatively narrow mouth, used especially by women for collecting pot-herbs in. The Santals make very extensive use of wild vegetables, leaves, &c. to prepare their curry.

¹⁰ The *uric* is a small bird which plays a rôle in giving omens in certain circumstances.

So they called him, and he answered them, but out he did not come. They called him three or four times; still he did not come out at all. So they said to the old man: "It is of no use, he will not come out at our calling him. Please you call him."

The old man then entered the house, and they had some talk together. When he came out, the old man said to the Five: "I say, respected Five, what is there to talk about? What I spoke to you about this morning, we have settled between us; so this time please go back home. If he should another time attempt the same, then we shall not let him off; we shall catch him at once and bring him to his bearings. Well, this time we shall leave him alone."

Then the Five mentioned the astuteness of the jackal. The story is as follows:

A male jackal had become a widower, and a female jackal had also become a widow. Then it happened one day that these two, the widow and the widower, met whilst they were out seeking food, and they became a pair. Thereupon they were talking together: "Now we two have become husband and wife. How shall we in future be able to support our children? If we two do not use our wits, how should we also be able to support ourselves?"

Then, they tell, the male jackal said: "Ho, how should not we be able to support ourselves? I have myself wit, twelve cartloads or twelve carriages full, with so much should we two not be able to support ourselves? We shall likely be able to support ourselves, I suppose. Well, how much wit have you?"

"I," the she-jackal replied, "how much should I have? If you measure by the basket⁹ used for gathering pot-herbs in, I have one basketful of wit."

Whilst they were talking together, they suddenly met a leopard. "Yes," he said, "to-day I have found you two." And those two were trembling like youngs of the uric bird¹⁰. The male jackal was especially afraid and trembling, his hind-quarters were

yena, liñdhi dō bhukué bhukuéntae, ar rōr hō bōtorte at utāren-takina, ēkkaltekin kēkleśē utārena.

Adō kathae, uni tārūpgeye rōr sādēkē. Metatkināe, Cēṭben galmaraojōn kan tahēkana?

Khange uni āñḍiā dō kaṇṭa sudhā rōhōrentaete bae rōr dāreata. Adō uni ēngageye rōr gōṭkē, Iā mama sāsūr, nui dō tin anēc cōe rōr. Noaliñ galmaraojōn kan tahēkana, ālinren dō mōrē gōṭēn hōpōn menakkotaliñ. Adō din hilōk onageliñ jhogrāk kana. Adō onko gidrageliñ rēpēc kana. In dōn mēnēta, Peañ hataokoa, am dō bareage; ēnte in dōn nunu bāra akatkoa. Ar ac dōe mēnēta, Inge pea dō, am dō bareagelañ emama. Nonka dingeliñ jhogrāka. Ar teheñ hō onageliñ ropōr kan jōkhenge nēkēbon ṇapamen. Adō mama sāsūr, bhagebon ṇapamēna; dela am bāre ḥaṭiñ oṭōkakotaliñme.

Adō ona katha anjōmte uni tārūp dō āḍiye rāsāyena. Mōṇe mōṇēteye mēnkēta, Ho, khub nāhāk in besoka. Nikin barea ar enko hōpōn mōrē gōṭēn, khub nāhāk in jōm bika. Adō onkae hudis bārakēṭ khan dōe mēn gōṭkēta, Acha besge, okare menakko-tabena? Delabon idiñben, ḥaṭiñkakotabenañ.

Adō uni ēngae mēnkēta, Delaliñ idimeā, hana bhugākṛe menakkotaliñ.

Khangekin laha gōṭentekin āyur idikēdea. Adō bhāḡte ona bhugākkin tiōkkēta. Uni āñḍiā dō hare phareye bōlō gōṭēna are gampatao gōṭēna. Ar uni ēngā dō duār ṭhengeye duṛup akana.

¹¹ All Santals when living in the same village or having anything to do with one another will, if they are not related, construct an artificial relationship with each other. They say it is especially to avoid having to use the proper names in addressing people. Very likely they feel the necessity of belonging to one large family in their daily life. It is their way of visualizing society. They will also enter into the same kind of artificial relationship with others, non-Santals, when living in more or less close contact with them. Probably the supposed necessity for themselves makes them imagine that also the animals of the forest feel it the same way. The relationship generally mentioned in the folktales as existing between animals of different kinds is that between a person and his mother's brother or sister, in Santali mā mō bhāḡnā. Such relatives are always treating

quivering, and out of fear they both lost the power of speech; they became utterly numbed with fright.

Then the leopard spoke and said to them: "What were you two talking together?"

Even the throat of the he-jackal had become dry, so he could not utter a word; the she-jackal then said: "I say, uncle¹¹, who knows how long a time it will take him here to speak. We were talking about this: we have five young ones, and we are every day quarrelling over them, who of us is to have them. I say: I shall take three, you take two, because I have suckled them. And he himself says: I take the three, and to you we shall give two. In this way we quarrel every day. To-day also we were having words on this subject, and just at that moment we met with you. Well, uncle, it was fortunate we met. Come along, you please divide our young ones between us."

When the leopard heard this, he became very glad. He was saying to himself: "Ho, I shall do exceedingly well presently; these two and those five young ones — I shall presently be well satisfied." Thinking this he said: "All right then, where have you got them? Come along, take me there; I shall divide them for you."

"Come along," the she-jackal said, "we shall take you there. We have them in that cave over there." .

The two jackals went in front and led the leopard along. Fortunately the jackals reached the cave; the he-jackal hurriedly entered and rolled over like dead, and the she-jackal was sitting at the door, the leopard also sitting near by. As a long time

each other with the greatest respect; anything unseemly between them would be punished with great severity, in certain cases outcasting from Santal society. According to Santal standards, such people cannot intermarry. As is only natural, the bigger, and consequently more dangerous animal is represented as the maternal uncle and the weaker one as the nephew, *bhagna*. The she-jackal here addresses the leopard as her maternal uncle-father-in-law. The Santals are always very exact in their relationship appellations, having a very large number of such.

Ar uni tarup hō inā phedregeye durup akana. Ado dher habiō hoeyen khan, enga dōe hōhō sadeketa, Okor, tinrem aguyetkoa? Tin habiclin durupkoka?

Ado bhitri khonge uni andia dōe ror gotketa, Bogeteko hamal kana, eskarte bañ idi dareako kana. Dela hijukme, bana hortelan idi hotkoa.

Ado engae ror gotketa, Ote, mama sasur, hamal iate eskarte dō bae agu dareako kana. Bololengeñ, inā dō bana horte hare pharelin heo odok gotkoa.

Ado tarupe menketa, Acha besge, ma hako pako agu hotkobon. Ado mone monete uni tarup dōe menjon kana, Bolok jokhen nahak ekkalten ger godea, bankhan nahak bana horkin bolō adok kana. Ado uni toyo enga hōe budi gotketa. Bolok jokhen dō paclateye bolok kana, lindhigeye lahakettaea. Ado un jokhen uni tarup dōe ror gotketa, Oe oe, oe ki?

Khange toyo engae men gotketa, Oh, mama sasurke pand dekhabo.

Khange ene ini hōe boloyen dōe bolō gusaena. Khange tarup dōe hohoketa, Okor? Tinreben aguyetkoa?

Ado uni engageye men ruaradea, Ia mama sasur, alintegelin hatinketkoa. In dō peae emadiña, ac dō bareae hataoketkina. Onate baliñ idiyetkoa.

Khange uni tarup dō adi barice edreyena. Menketae, Lahare huteć nonkañ badaele khan, unrege bana hor in jomkekina. Ado bhugaktekin boloyen khan, ceñ in cekaea? Ar noa bhugakre in ma bañ sahōp kan, ar bankhan nitge bolokaten ger goćkekina. Ado bhugakkoe rabor baraketa, on baraketkinae. Ado oka lekate hō bae at dareatkin khan dōe calao dorokena.

Ado baba mōrē hor, mase bujtābonpe, nukin toyo sikketbonakin. Pahil dō abo mōrē hor thenkin laiketa. Ado ona katha añjom-

¹² The leopard is here introduced as speaking a low kind of Bengali. Especially the jackal is often made to speak either Bengali or Hindi. Here it is only this remark and its answer which is in a foreign language.

passed without their hearing anything, the she-jackal called out: "What's the matter? when are you bringing them? How long are we to sit here?"

The he-jackal then answered from inside: "They are so very heavy, I am not able to carry them out alone. Come, then we shall help each other to take them out."

"You heard, uncle," the she-jackal said, "they are so heavy, he is unable to bring them out alone. Let me get in first, then we shall help each other and carry them out in a moment."

"All right," the leopard replied, "be quick and bring them then." But in his mind the leopard was saying to himself: "When she is entering, I shall at once bite her; otherwise both of them will enter and be lost to me." The she-jackal also used her wits; when she entered, she did it moving backwards, she let her hind-quarters get in first. Then the leopard called out: "Was, was, was ist das¹²?"

The she-jackal then said: "Oh, ich wünsche nur dem Oheim Achtung zu zeigen."

In this way she also got in and out of the way, whereupon the leopard called out: "What is the matter? When are you bringing them?"

"O uncle," the she-jackal answered him, "we have divided them ourselves; he gave me three, and he himself took two. Therefore we are not taking them out."

The leopard now became awfully angry and said: "If I had known anything like this beforehand, I should have eaten both those at once. As they have entered this hole, what can I do? I am too big to get into this hole, else I should enter this instant and bite and kill them." He used his claws on the hole, he hissed at them; but as he could not in any way get at them, he had to go away.

Now, respected Five, please see how these two treated us just like the jackals did the leopard¹³. First they complained to us,

katebon menketa, Khubbon candoqmkina. Ado nõkõebon jarwayen khan do unkin toyo leka kathakin mitketa. Ado okorbon dhej dare-ata? Niageko metaka, bañma, Sat siyaler budi, candboltegeko ekrea. Ado nekẽ candbolte bakin ere lipukketbona? Mase bhala uni tarup leka cefbon cekaea? Ina mit tunki buditege un marañ dusman geger janwarkin bhagaokedea.

Ado akin haram budhikin galmaraojon kana. Engae meneta, Am do baro gadi budi do nahakgem laia. Okor jojaolentama? Nahakge hutnem jom ocokelaña. Inak budi aloh odokle khan do khatigeye jomkelangea. Ado inak budi iate bana hor in bacloaketlaña.

Ado nukin apa hon ho nahak onka lekakin galmaraojona.

Ar noa kathate abo ho mitan nomonabon cetjon kana. Menako, bañma, Aimairen jhin dobon herel kana. Jhin jahã sengem or, ontege sadom doko acuroka. Se jahã sentege sui paromok, enka-tege sutam ho paromok kana. Se aimai do dhertet dundhibon metako kana. Ado mase bujpe, joto aimai do bako dundhia. Mit bar do bickom herel khon ho uparge budi menaktakoa. Herel hopon boronko latar ocok kangea. Okoe men sikte ma herel hopon do lenga ti senreko dqhoyetkoa. Ar niã miten bujhaupẽ se, tandire tahẽkan bhergem meneta, Inak cas. Orakrem aderket khan ma aimaiak cij hoeyentae. Am mam seta baragen. Tinrebo leh-ako kana, un utar jom doko nameta. Tobe abo ho onkage.

¹³ The story is nearly ended and someone of the village council makes the application.

¹⁴ Here the end comes, or, it may be, an addition.

¹⁵ The Santal writer gives vent to some opinions of his own, a side-application which did not interest the village council. The position of women among the Santals is theoretically low, see the introductory remarks to the stories about women, below. *De facto* the Santal women have a fairly good and strong position.

¹⁶ Especially the last proverb is very commonly heard when a man is told to consult his wife about any matter. He is naturally the lord and absolute ruler.

¹⁷ Before eating the Santals will always wash their hands. They do not use spoons or forks or knives, but only their right hand, in all cases when the food is not quite liquid. Then they eat with a 'spoon' made of a leaf.

the village council, and when we had heard the case, we said we should fine them heavily. But see, as soon as we came together, they just like the jackals found something and agreed on that. Then how could we manage? This is what people say: The wit of seven jackals — they take people in by their tail. Did not these two now take us in by their tail? Like that leopard, what shall we do? By the help of that one small basketful of wit those two got the better of such a big dangerous biting animal.

Now those two, husband and wife, were talking together¹⁴. The she-jackal said: "It is to no purpose your talking about twelve cartloads of wit. Why, what did it help you? For nothing you would have let us both be eaten. If I had not brought my wit out, he would certainly have eaten us both. By my wit I saved us both."

And these two, father and son, will also now talk together in the same way.

This story has something to teach also us¹⁵. People say: We men are the women's bridle. To whichever side you pull the bridle, to that side the horse will turn. Or, the way the needle goes that way also the thread follows¹⁶. Or, we men mostly call the women silly. Be sure, all women are not silly. A few of them have intelligence superior even to that of men. The men are rather worsted. In accordance with what some say they put the men to the left. And keep this one thing in mind: As long as the crops are in the field, you say 'my crop'. As soon as you take it into the house, it becomes the woman's goods. You become like a dog. When you call them, then only they get their food. It is just the same with us. When the women pour out water for us¹⁷, then only we get food. Am I then not right

The Santali writer rather overdoes the thing. It might be remarked that a woman, who gives birth to girls only, is sometimes said to be a mother of dogs.

These personal remarks of the Santali writer have been retained, because they show how a story told reacts on the minds of the people. A folktale very frequently gives rise to discussions or preachings of a similar kind.

Tinre dakko tañabon kana, un utar jom dɔbo ñameta. Ado kajega babon seta baragena? Ado amak tahəntam khan, am sana leka bam jomkea? Ado okorbon dareak kana? Ado ona iate aimai hō alope nihāt utarkoa. Adom adom aimai dō herel khon bərtige bud menaktakoa.

Ma nui toyo reak kəhni bujəujonpe. Aimai reak budte bana hore rukhiaketkina, bañkhan hutən bana hore jom dorokkekina. Ado niə kəhni don muçatketa.

4. T o y o b i c a r .

Sedaere mitñan raje tahəkana, ar uniren miť goťeć kořa gidraĭ tahəkantaea. Khange uni gidraĭ hara ar bud akelen khan, miť din dō ać apate galmaraoae kana, Iə beťa, jāhā hilok inih goćen khan dō, am dō marañ hōř tuluc bare hirlakme; marañ hōř tuluc hirlak dō bogegea.

Ado tinak din tayomte cōñ apat hōe goćena. Ado uni kořa dō aće hirlak laġit haprak hore ñam barayetkoa. Ado khange ona takre mitñan raj pałkiteko goł aġuyede kan tahėkanre kəñ leka mitñan toyo leŋga pahta khon jojom pahtate onko lahareye ħir paromena. Raj uni toyoye ħelkede khan, aćak pałki khon aġgo goťente uni toyo seć samañkate bogeteye salam salamketa, jemon oka kami laġite calak kan, ona jemon purauktae ma; ona ħutumteye salam gotadea.

Ado khange uni kořa dō uni raj reak dosa muçat dhəbić tan mane ħelkedeadea. Ar aćak monereye menketa, Dhorage nui toyo dō jañić marañ hudaren kanae, onatege raj hō raje salamadea.

¹ Up to not very many years ago the most common way of travelling was to go in a palanquin. The most ordinary form is a box with a curved roof and one opening on each side, which can be shut by sliding panels. It is just long enough for a grown-up person to lie down in, and high enough to sit in without bending; it is carried by generally four persons, two in front and two behind, by the help of two poles, fixed one in front and the other behind. The carriers, often of a certain Hindu caste, generally make use of a kind of sing-song to regulate the stepping, as they carry the palanquin along.

in saying we are like the dogs? If it remained yours, could you not eat at your pleasure? But when are we able to do so? Therefore, do not utterly despise the women. Some women have more intelligence than men.

Understand the story of this jackal. The woman's wit rescued both of them; otherwise, he would have eaten both of them, what could they have done?

So I have finished this story.

4. JACKAL JUDGEMENT.

In the old days there was a king, who had one only son. When that child had grown up and reached the age of sense and discretion, his father one day talked to him saying: "I say, my son, when, some day, I am dead, then find refuge and protection with some big man; it is good to seek protection with such."

Some time afterwards the father died, and the boy commenced to look for great people to seek protection. At that time it so happened, whilst they were carrying a king along in a palanquin¹, that a jackal accidentally ran across the road in front of them, from the left to the right side². When the king saw the jackal, he at once got out of his palanquin, turned towards the jackal and saluted again and again, in order that the business he was out on might prosper and be accomplished. This was why he saluted him.

The boy was looking intently at the king, what he was doing, until it was all finished; then he said to himself: "Surely, this jackal must likely be one in high authority; therefore, even the king³ saluted him." Having come to this conclusion, the boy

² If a jackal crosses the road as described, it is considered a bad omen. If e. g. this happens when they are going to arrange some of the preliminaries of a marriage, they will return, and may even give the whole up.

³ What is here called a king, must not be taken as something necessarily very grand. Any landlord is called a *ra j*, i. e. a king.

3 — Inst. f. saml. kulturforskning. •

Ona niṭante uni koṛa dō raje salamadea, ar uni toyogeye pañja-kedea. Ar pañja pañjate miṭṭaṇ bhugaḱreye pañja aderkedea. Ar uni koṛa hō ona bhugaḱ ṭhengeye duruṇena. Ar uni toyoren eṅga hoṇon sanamge ona bhugaḱreko tahēkana.

Ar baṛsiṇ pe māhāe hoṛhoḱetko khan, eṅga hoṇon kaumaṇ bogeteko garjaoketa. Ar hoṇon māyāte eṅga aṇḍiakīn niṭketa, Ma jāhā lekatelaṇ bidakaea. Ado niṭkete miṭṭaṇ gaikin emadea. Ado uni gai reak gun dō nonka tahēkantaea, jāhānakgem koeye, onageye ulā toda. Uni gaikin emadea, arkin metadea, Ma nui gailiṇ emam kana, idijonme; ar jāhānakge jaṛuṛam, onage koeyeme.

Ar uni koṛa dō uni gaigeye idikedea. Calak calakte miṭṭaṇ bande tiokketa, ar reṅgeḱkedete oṇḱege gai hō dake aṇūadea ar ac hōe daṭauniyena. Ar ṭhāri baṭiko paḥil dōe koekedea; inaḱate jol pan hōe koekedea. Inaḱo jom baṛakate adōe koekedea caole, dāl, buluṇ sunum ar joto jaṛuṛ jinis cetko ac jom sanakedea, ona dō jotoe koekedea.

Ona takre meṅkhan miṭṭaṇ maejiu dakteye seṇlen tahēkana. Ar uni maejiu dō etohōḱ khon tan mane neṅel kan tahēkana. Sanam onakoe ṇel mucatketkin khan, hako pako oraḱte ruar seṇente acṛen jāwāetet joto sombate laiaadea. Are metadea, Do calakme, jāhā lekate eṛe aguyem baṛe uni gai dō.

Khan uni jāwāetet dō hako pako nīr seṇ goṭente uni koṛae metadea, lā ho, peṛa hoṛ, alom calaḱa nitok dō, ente tala birregem nīndaḱa nāhāḱ, ar bir hō aḍi bagahi akana. Dela

⁴ In Santali eṅga hoṇ means 'mother and son', the expression here used eṅga hoṇon, lit. 'mother-child' means the whole family, husband included. It is just mentioned here, as it might point towards a former state of matriarchate. It should, however, be noted that other traces are not found among the Santals, but much which points the other way. The whole Santal society is founded on the superiority of man over woman.

⁵ The climate makes it most desirable, not to say necessary, to have sufficient water, also for bathing purposes, more especially during the hot season. To store water, excavations are made, the 'holes' being square or rectangular in shape. The earth is thrown up on the sides, the embankments being planted with trees,

saluted the king and followed after the jackal. He kept on following him, until he saw him enter a cave, whereupon the boy himself sat down near the entrance. The whole family⁴ of the jackal was in that cave.

When the boy had remained watching them for two or three days, the mother and the young ones commenced to howl and cry, and out of compassion with their young ones the jackals, father and mother, determined that, somehow or other, they would send him off. And having determined this, they gave him a cow, and this cow had such a quality: whatever you might ask her for, that she would bring forth out of her mouth. They gave him this cow and said: "See, we are giving you this cow; take her along with you, and whatever you need, ask her for that."

The boy then took the cow with him. As he was walking along, he came to a tank⁵, and as he felt hungry, he gave the cow to drink and he himself also cleaned his teeth⁶. First he asked the cow for a brass plate and cup; thereupon he asked her for light refreshments, and having eaten this, he asked her for rice, beans, salt, oil and all other things; whatever he wanted to eat, all that he asked her for.

Just at that time a woman had gone down to the water, and she had from the very first been looking intently on. When she had seen it all, she hurried back home and told her husband everything and said to him: "Do go, under some pretext or other, bring that cow here."

Her husband then at once ran as quickly as he could and said to the boy: "I say, my friend, don't start now; you will in that case be in the middle of the forest by midnight; the forest is also much infested with wild animals. Come back and turn in

especially palm-trees, as the leaves of these do not fall down and rot in the water. Such is the 'tank' found where the country is flat. The size varies very much, some may be small, others may be large, up to an acre or even more. A very common size in the Santal country is something like a fifth to

ruar̥me ale t̥enge, gitić t̥hai h̥le emama n̥ah̥k. Ad̥e ruar̥ agukedea.

Ar ḁyup̥en khane metadea, Ma gai d̥o go̥ra duar̥re t̥olkaeme, ar am d̥o noa piṇḍate hijukme. Aḍi noa disom d̥o b̥oṭorgea.

Ad̥o sarige gai d̥o go̥ra duar̥reye t̥olkadea, ar ać d̥o piṇḍareye gitićena. Ar aḍi gh̥ari emanteak galmar̥aoteye bodhao akadea. Ar ona tayom aḍi aṭ d̥ud̥rumkedete khube j̥apit̥keta. Ona takre uni h̥or d̥o uni gai rara agukedete aćren gai̥ko tuluće aderkadea go̥rare, ar aćren gai t̥iak oḍokkedete oṇḍeye t̥olkadea.

Khan ad̥o aṅgayen khan, uni ko̥ra d̥o gaiye h̥el̥kedea, aćren d̥e baṅ kan. Ad̥e meṇeta, Henda ho, cedak gai d̥om b̥oḍo-ladiṇa?

Ad̥o uni h̥ore r̥or ruar̥adea, Okor baṅ, okareṅ b̥oḍol akawat̥me? Amge com t̥ol akade. Bej̥ae iṅ d̥o amren gai laḡit iṅ reṅgejok kan! Iṅren bam h̥eleṭkot̥iṇa miṭ go̥ra gai?

Arh̥o uni ko̥rae r̥or ruar̥ go̥tadea, Miṭ go̥ra maṅ h̥eleṭkot̥amge, ar onko ma baṅ ko̥eyet̥me; eḡen iṅ d̥o iṅren iṅ ṇam kana.

Khange ad̥o onka onkate kaph̥ari̥aukin sardiketa. Khange ad̥o ona atoren h̥or̥ko metat̥kina, Aloben kaph̥ari̥auka. Bana h̥orge h̥or jarwajon̥ben, oḡe̥ko abenren gai̥ko h̥el̥ akat̥ko. Ar uni ko̥ra h̥o̥ko metadea, Am h̥o̥ uni gai okarem ṇam akadea, onko h̥or bḁre agukom. Ad̥oko neṇḍaketa. Ar uni ko̥ra d̥o toyo t̥hene seṇena, ar aćak sanam ḍuke laiat̥kina.

Ar neṇḍa din seṭeren khan, uni ko̥ra d̥o toyoe agukedea; banarge eṅga aṇḍi̥akin hećena. Ar uni dosarić d̥o khub moṭa moṭa raj h̥or̥koe baṇijket̥koa, ar j̥eto h̥or t̥akae emat̥koa, jem̥on ać seṭge sanam h̥or̥ko r̥or. Khange ad̥o saḷisko dur̥uṇena.

an eigth of an acre. The tanks are generally individual undertakings, but are sometimes given over to public use. Some people wish, in such a way, to make themselves a name to be remembered, or to do something meritorious. Where the 'country is hilly, the water-storage is very often effected by damming up a sloping depression in the ground. The natural depression is enlarged, the excavated earth being thrown across the 'valley', to form an embankment. This kind is less expensive and is very common in the Santal country. It is called a band, which means an embankment. The Santali text has band here.

with us; we shall give you a place to sleep in." In this way he brought him back and to his house.

When night fell, he said to the boy: "Please tie your cow at the entrance of the cattle-shed, and you come up here to this verandah. It is a dangerous country here."

The boy then tied his cow at the entrance of the cattle-shed and himself lay down in the verandah. Talking to him for a long time about this that and the other, the man put the boy at his ease. Some time afterwards, the boy felt very drowsy and fell fast asleep. At that time the man untied the cow and put her into the cattle-shed together with his own cows; thereupon he led a cow of his own out and tied her where the boy's cow had been.

When it became morning, the young man saw that it was not his cow that was there, and said: "Look here, why have you exchanged cows for me?"

"Why, not at all," the man replied, "where have I made any exchange for you? You yourself have tied your cow here. I am, of course, awfully hungry for your cow, don't you think? Don't you see my cows, one cattle-shed full?"

"To be sure," the boy replied, "I see your cattle-shed full; but I am not asking you for those. I want only my own cow."

In this way they quarrelled violently, so the people of the village said to them: "Don't quarrel. Both of you call people together who have seen your cows." And to the boy they said: "You also bring those people from whom you have got this cow." Thereupon they fixed a time, and the boy went to the jackal and told him all his trouble.

When the day fixed came, the boy brought the jackal; they came both of them, the he- and the she-jackal. The other party brought big big people, landlords⁷ and such, and all of them he gave money, to make them all speak up for himself. So they sat down to arbitrate.

⁶ Preparatory to eating. A twig of the sal tree is used as a tooth-brush.

⁷ In Santali 'kings', see p. 33 note 3.

Ado khangé uni toyo andiaí ehópkeftakoa, Ia ho bhala, aliñ bana horge haram buđhi reak bicar pahiltaliñpe. Bhala bana hór mittegealiñ jom núyeta, ar tahē hō mittegealiñ tahenkana. Cekate iñ dō mit dhaogēñ icēta ar ēnga dō pē dhao?

Khangé tho okōe hō cē hō bako ror ruar dareata. Ado khangé ēngako kulikedeā, Cekate am dō pē dhaoem icēta ar andiaí dō mit dhaoge?

Khangé ado toyo ēngae laiako kana, bañma, Okōe bēdhōromko bicara, onkoren sat gušire paraoka ona bar dhao reak ic dō; ar mit dhaoak ic dō andiañ juriatae kana.

Khangé ona katha añjomte bikcarko doko thar bhasaoena, ar mone moneteko menwana, Ere nāhākbōn rorlere ma toyo ic abore paraoka. Onate ere bako ror dareata. Khangé okōe orakreye gitiñlen tahēkan, uni hór dō rajko metadea, Okare gai pal dō menaka?

Khané laiatkoa, Phalna tãndireko atineťkoa.

Metadeako, Nonde agu ocokom.

Aguketkoako. Khangeko metaťkina toyotekin haram buđhi, Ma ēndēkhan abenben em akawade gai ma nel oromeben.

Khangé toyo andiaí dō unāk gai talare boloyente uni gai bachao toťkedeteye tiať ođonkedeā ar korae jimawadetaea. Khan onko bikcarko doko řhakente apan apin orakťeko ruar barayena. Ar toyo hō aťinak dandertekin ruar calaoena. Ar uni korā hō adge calao idiyena oka sēc acak disom menaka.

Mucaťena.

5. T o y o a r h ó r k o r a r e a ñ .

Sedae jokhen, kathae, mitťañ hore tahēkana, ar mitťañ korā hōpone tahēkantaea, ar uni gidra dō huđingeye tahēkanre, ēngattēť dōe goćena. Khangé uni gidra dōe řuarena, apattēť dōe řandiyena. Khangé uni hór dō ađi bhabnareye paraoena: kamiae, seye daka

¹ This and the following story are the same as the preceding one, which is taken down by the woman mentioned at the end of the story. The language is that of a woman in some places. Nos 5 and 6 are both taken down by Sagram Murmu, but at different times, and from different people.

The he-jackal commenced: "I say, please first decide a case between us two, husband and wife. Both of us eat and drink together, and we stay together. How is it that I go to stool once daily and she thrice?"

No one of them could answer anything to this. Then they asked the she-jackal: "How is it that you go to stool thrice and your husband only once?"

Then the she-jackal said to them: "On those who pass unrighteous judgements, to their seventh generation the twice passed stools will fall; that of the third time I match with that of my husband's."

When the judges heard this, they were terror-struck and were saying to themselves: "If we now speak falsely, the jackal's stools will fall on us." Therefore they did not dare to speak falsely. The landlords then said to the man in whose house the boy had passed the night: "Where is your herd of cows?"

"They are grazing them on such and such a plain," he told them.

"Let them be brought here," they ordered him.

When they had been brought, they said to the two jackals: "Now then, see which cow you have given to the boy."

The he-jackal then ran in among all those cows, found the cow, led her out and gave her over to the boy. The arbitrators were amazed and went home, each one to his own house. The two jackals also returned to their cave, and the young man thereupon went away to where his own country was.

That is the end.

(Told by Saṅkhi Hṛṣḍak wife of Lothro Murmu, late of Mohulpahari.)

5. THE JACKAL AND THE SANTAL¹.

In the old times, people tell, there once was a man, who had a son. Whilst the child was still quite young, his mother died; the child became motherless and the father a widower. Great trouble befell him: should he do his ordinary work, or should

utuia, seye gupia, se gidrai jotonea? Nonka adi moskil kamireye paraena. Khande bhabnateye osokena.

Mit din do ac hopon gidrai metae kana, Ia babu, in hon gujukge con cet con, ente ban jut monren aikaueta. Ia babu, in metam kana, judin goelen khan do, latu hor se naprak hor then bare am do gutikme, se onkan hor then bare am do gitieme.

Ona tayom khande sari uni apat hor hoe goena. Khande uni gidra doe tuaren khan doe awa tapayena. Ado kakatteko idikedete onko thene hara juanena, ar sanam tij bostu se tij durib do onko-geko idi samtaokettaea, ar joto tij duribko hatao cabakettaea, ar ondege joto maraoentaea.

Are juanen khan doko metae kana, Ia babu, orakre ho cet jomak banuktabona. De bankhan am do gutiktabonme, kisarle siriam.

Ado uni kor do cet ho bae rorleta, hape akangeye tahyena. Ado mone moneteje bujha barajon kana, ado one apate metade tahkan, ona kathae disa namketa. Ado dosar hilok khande onko kakatteko then khon hoe odokena, ado ac mongereje menketa, Jahae naprak hor thengen gutika. Onka menkateje odok calak kana.

Ado tin sangin coe sen akan tahkan; khande mitan raj do palakire daharteko gok aguyede kane helketkoa. Ado menketa, Cele bhalako gok aguyede kana? Khande adoe kuliketkoa, Henda ho, celepe gok akadea?

Adoko metadea, Rajle gok akadea. Enka menkatege onko doko paromena.

Ado uni korae menketa, Nui kangeae latu hor do, tobe teronko gok akadea? Okoe tora nui thengen tahena; jaharege nuije calak, ontege in hon calaka. Ado onka menkate sari unigeye panjakadea, onko tayom tayomteje calak kana.

² When a man dies and his children are not big enough to look after themselves, the brothers of the deceased are the natural guardians and take charge. The younger brothers — so here — most commonly act; a possible cause for this may be the relationship often found between a man and his hill, i. e. elder brother's wife.

he prepare food, should he herd his cattle, or should he nurse his child? In this way, he had fallen into the greatest difficulties, and he wasted away from sorrow and grief.

One day he said to his child: "Listen to me, my boy, I also am very likely going to die, I am feeling very unwell. Listen, my boy, I tell you this: if I should die, take service with big or important people, or pass the night with such people."

Some time after this the father also really died, and as the boy became an orphan, he became destitute. His uncle's family² then took him to themselves, and he grew up and reached manhood whilst with them. These people collected and took away all his property and all his goods and took possession of all he had, and there, with them, it was all utterly lost.

When he had grown into manhood, they said to him: "Look here, my boy, we have absolutely nothing to eat in the house. So you take service with somebody; we shall look out for a master for you."

The young man did not say a word, he remained silent and was thinking it over in his mind. Then he remembered what his father had said to him, and the next day he left the family of his uncle, saying to himself: "I shall take service with some big people." With this in his mind he was walking along.

When he had walked some distance, who knows how far it was, he caught sight of some people who were carrying a king in a palanquin along the road towards him. He said to himself: I wonder whom they are carrying along. When they met, he asked them: "I say, whom are you carrying?"

"We are carrying the king," they replied, and as they said this, they passed.

"This is likely a big man," the boy said; "therefore they are carrying him. I shall not wait a moment, I shall stay with him. Wherever he goes, there I shall also go." Having said this, he really commenced to follow him; he walked along behind those people.

Ado tin saŋgiŋ coe paŋja idiketko, khangē ado onko gogokko laharege mittaŋ toyo aŋdiā dōe parom goŋena. Khangē uni raj dō uni toyoe hēlkede khan, gogokko sē kahaŋko dōe metatkoa, Mase miŋ ghaŋi dōhō hōgeŋpe. Khangē saŋiko dōhokedeā; ado uni raj dō paŋki sē khurkhuŋi khone oḍokente uni toyo aŋdiāi ḍobokadea.

Ado ona ḍobok hēlte uni koŋa dō mōŋe mōneteye menjoŋ kana, Ayo! nuige maraŋ hoŋ menkateŋ paŋja aguyede kana, arhō nui dō uni toyoe ḍobokae kana. Toŋe nui khon dō unigeye maraŋa, ona teŋoŋe ḍobokadea. Ac khon huḍiŋgeye taheŋ khan, hutēŋ ohoē ḍoboklea. Onakoe buj baŋaketteye menkeŋa, Baŋ, iŋ dō laŋu hoŋ iŋ paŋjayeā. Ado onka menkate saŋi uni toyo aŋdiageye paŋjakadea.

Khangē bhai, paŋjae paŋjakadea sē, jāhā man tāhāe paŋjakadea. Ar uni toyo dō ghaŋi hō ghaŋiye beŋgeŋ ruareŋa, ar sē uni hoŋ dō baŋgeye baŋiae kana. Khangē oka then dō uni toyo dōe ḍaŋ hōga, khangē uni koŋa hōe ḍaŋ idia; are hēl atkedeā menkhan ampa ompoe hīr calaka. Khangē uni toyo dōe bujhaŋukeŋa, Nui hoŋ dō ceŋ coŋ iŋ tuluē galmarao menaktaea. Khangēye taŋgikedeā, adōe metae kana, Henda beŋa, okatem calaka? Enaŋ khon iŋ hēletmea, iŋ tayom tayomtem hijuk kana.

Ado uni koŋae menkeŋa, Am thenge, babaŋ calak kana; enteŋ baḍaeyeta dharti mōtoŋe dō am kangeam maŋik dō. Am thenge iŋ dō gutiŋ taheŋa; ente huḍiŋ huḍiŋ iŋ tahēkanre iŋ ayo dōe goŋena, unre iŋ baba dōe metadiŋa, Ia baŋu, iŋ baŋ hilok dō hapen am dō laŋu hoŋ sē maraŋ hoŋ then baŋe gutikme ar onkan hoŋ then baŋe gitiŋme. Onate, baba, iŋ dō amgeŋ paŋja aguyetmea am then taheŋa mente.

Ado uni toyoe menkeŋa, Cekate am ḍom baḍaekidiŋa iŋ ḍoŋ maraŋgea mente?

³ See p. 33, note 2.

⁴ Kahaŋ is the name of a Hindu low-caste man, one of whose occupations is to be a palanquin-bearer.

When he had followed after them for some distance, a male jackal suddenly passed the road in front of the carriers³. As soon as the king saw the jackal, he spoke to the carriers or palanquin-bearers⁴: "Put me down a moment." They put him down, and the king got out of the palanquin or litter and bowed deeply to the jackal.

When the young man saw that bow, he said to himself: "Oh mother⁵, thinking that this one was the big man, I have been following him, and now he himself bows to the jackal. It must be because this one is bigger than the other that he bowed to him. If the jackal was of less importance than himself, he would surely not bow to him." Having reached this conclusion he said: "No, I shall follow the big one." And, having said this, he started following the jackal.

If you believe it or not, he followed him; wherever he went, he followed after him. The jackal again and again looked backwards, but the man would not leave him alone. When the jackal here and there tried to run a little, the young man also ran along, and if he lost sight of him anywhere, he ran hurriedly here and there to find him. At last the jackal understood that the man had likely something he wanted to talk to him about. He therefore waited for him and spoke to him: "I say, my son, where are you going? I have seen you for a long while, you are coming after me."

"I am coming to you, father," the boy answered, "because I know, that in the whole world you are the master. I want to stay with you as your servant; when I was very young, my mother died, and then my father said to me: 'Listen, my boy, some day in future when I am no more, seek service with big or important people, and pass the night with such people. Therefore, father, I have been following you, in order to stay with you.'"

"How did you know me," the jackal asked him, "that I am the big one?"

Ado unreye mēnketa, In dō nōtege maraṇ hōr then gutika mente oraḱ khon in oḱok hijuḱ kan tahēkana. Ado unreṇ hēlkedea miṭṭaṇ raj dō khurḱhuriteko gōḱ idiyede kan. Ado unreṇ mēnketa, Nui kangeae cele laṭu hōr dō. Ado onka mēnkate in dō uni ṭhenge gutika mente unigēṇ paṇja āguyede kan tahēkana. Ado un jōkhenge am dō uni laharem parom gōṭena; adō am hēlte uni raj dō khurḱhuri khon ārgoyente ame ḱobōḱatmea, are mēnketa, In khon dō nuigeye maraṇa. Ado ona aṇjōmkate in dō mōnreṇ bujhaḱuketa, tōbē dharti mōṭore dō unigeye maraṇa mente. Onka bujhaḱukate in dō amgeṇ paṇja āguketmea am ṭhenge guti taheṇa mente.

Ado uni toyo aṇḱiai mēnketa, Henda bacha, in ma cas bas hō baṇuktiṇ, cetreṇ kāmī ocomea? Iā bacha, ma ruārjōṇme, in dō guti oḱoṇ dōḱo dārelema.

Ado uni koṛa dō cet hō bae mēnleta. Khange uni toyo dō calaoena. Khange uni koṛa hōe paṇja idikedegēa. Khange uni toyo dō miṭṭaṇ danderreye bōḱoyena. Khange uni koṛa hō ona dander duār then senkateye duṛupēna, adō oṇḱege aḱi hābiḱe duṛup akangea. Ar uni toyo dō ghaṛi ghaṛigeye beṇgeṭae beṇgeṭae kangeae. Ado aḱi hābiḱe duṛupēn khan, eṇga toyo dō mēnketa, Nui hōr dō cet laḱit nōṇḱe dōe duṛup akana? Enan khone duṛup akan dō. Sē alaṇ gōḱlaṇ laḱitgeye duṛup akana, sē amge cetem mēn akawadea?

Ado aṇḱiai mēnketa, Oḱo baḱae, baṇ baḱae kana.

Ado metadea, Cekate eṇḱekhan am dōe paṇja āgu akatmea?

Ado unreye mēnketa, Hē, uni tuluḱ thoṛa thuri dō katha menaka.

Ado mēnketa, Cet katha kana? Ma laiaṇme.

Ado unreye mēnketa, Nui dōe ṭuār gidra kana, adō alaṇ ṭhenge guti taheṇa mēnteye paṇja āgu akadiṇa. Mēnetae, baṇma; Dharti mōṭore toyogeko maraṇa, toyo khon dō celege bako maraṇa. Onate

⁵ A very common exclamation to show surprise; if the most common Santali word for mother, go, or only the emphatic particle ge is added, it is also used to indicate pity and pain.

"I was coming from home," the boy replied, "in this direction, to seek service with some big person; then I caught sight of a king, whom they were carrying in a litter. Then I said to myself: This one is likely to be a big man. Thinking this, I was following after him, to take service with him. Just then you passed across the road in front of him, and, seeing you, the king came down from his litter and bowed to you and said: This one is bigger than myself. Hearing this, I understood that this one then is the biggest in the whole world. With this in my mind, I have been following you to be with you as your servant."

"Look her, my son," the jackal said, "I have no cultivation or farm-work⁶ of any kind, so how can I let you work at anything? I say, my son, please return home. I am unable to keep you as my servant."

The boy did not say a word, and the jackal went away. Then the boy again followed after the jackal, until the jackal entered a cave. The boy then went and sat down at the entrance of that cave, and there he remained sitting until late. The jackal again and again looked out at him, and as he remained sitting there until late, the she-jackal said: "What is this man sitting here for? He has been sitting here for a long while. Or perhaps he is sitting here to try to kill us, or has he said anything to you?"

"Who knows," the he-jackal said, "I don't know."

"How is it then," she asked, "that he has followed you here?"

"Well," he replied, "I have something, a very little, to do with him."

"What is it?" the she-jackal asked, "please tell me."

Then the jackal said: "He is an orphan boy and has followed me here to take service with us two. He says: In the whole world the jackals are the biggest; absolutely no one is bigger

⁶ It might be noted that other work than farm-work seems to be outside of possibilities. The Santals were formerly in the habit of working at whatever they could; even now there is no innate objection against any work; but under Hindu influence the Santals are becoming something like an agricultural caste; they feel this to be their natural and desirable occupation.

uni dō, marañ hōr ʔenge gutike mēnette in dōe pañja āgu a-kadiña.

Adō eṅgae mēnketa, Cekateye badaeketa dhartire dō toyogeko maraña mēnte dō?

Adō aṇḍiaṇi mēnketa, Oka disomren raj cōṇ palkiteko gōk idiyede tahēkana, unre in dō onko lahareṇ parōmena, ar raj dō inē ṇelkidiṇ khan dō, onko palki gogōkkoe metatkoa, Mase miṭ ghari dōhōliṇpe. Adōko dōhōkedete palki khone oḍokente inē ḍōbōkadiña. Un jōkheṇ nui gidrā dō onko tayōm tayōmteye hijuk kan tahēkana, unige marañ hōr bujhaṇkate ar uni ʔenge gutika mēnteye mējōṇ kan tahēkana. Adō uni raj dō inē ḍōbōkadiṇe ṇelkede khan dōe mēnketa, Raj khon dō tōbe nuigeye maraña, tōbe tēṛōṇe ḍōbōkadea, ar baṅkhan dō hutēc ohoe ḍōbōklea; tōbe khan in dō nui ʔengeṇ gutika. Adō onka mēnkate oṇḍe khonge nui bapuric gidrā dōe pañja āgu akadiña. Hōrre miṭ dhao dōṇ galmaraoadea, eṇ kathae, Bābu, in dō cas bas hō bānuktiña; cetreṇ kāmī ocomete in dō gutiṇ dōhōmea? Ma jāhāe kisār baṛe ṇelkom. Adō unre cet hō bae rōr ruṛadiña. Khangeṇ baḡiadea, ar nīr adea mēnte aḍi āṭ in dārketā, mēnkhan nui dō rukhi pañjae pañjakidiṇte nōkkōe alaṇ oṛak haḇiḇe pañja āgukidiña. Adō dē bhala nui gidrā dō aḍi as mōṇkateye heḇen dō, adō cetlaṇ metaea, cet kāmirelaṇ dōhōyea, se cetlaṇ metaea?

Khange toyo eṅga dō ona kathae aṇjōm purāukettae khan dōe oḍokenteye kuliyeḍe kana, Henda bābu, cet mēnkate nui dōm pañja āgu akadea, se cet lagatēm heḇe akana?

Adōe mēnketa, Aben ʔenge gutika mēnteṇ heḇe akana.

Adōe metadea, Aḷiṇ ʔhen dō kāmī bānukan, cetliṇ kāmī ocomea?

Adōe mēnketa, Jāhānakgeben kāmī ocoṇ, onageṇ kāmia.

⁷ Note the avoiding of using any kind of name.

⁸ Loṭa is a brass cup, wide at the bottom, with a narrow neck and fairly broad brim. It is a very common brass vessel of universal use for liquids, especially water for washing purposes. It is not originally a Santal household utensil. It is manufactured by Hindus. Within certain limits, the form varies considerably.

⁹ It is always an object with them to make sure that a gift is voluntary.

than the jackal. He is seeking service with some big people, therefore he has followed me here."

"How did he know," the she-jackal said, "that the jackals are the biggest in the world?"

The he-jackal then answered: "They were carrying the king of some country or other along in a palanquin; at that time I happened to cross the road in front of them, and when the king saw me, he said to the palanquin-bearers that they should put him down for a moment. They put him down, and he got out of the palanquin and bowed to me. At that time this boy was coming after them, because he had understood that he was the big man, and he intended to take service with him. When he saw that the king bowed to me, he said: Then this one is, of course, bigger than the king; therefore he bowed to him, otherwise he would certainly not have bowed; therefore I shall take service with this one. With this in his mind, this poor child has followed me right here. Whilst coming, I spoke to him once, saying to him these very words: "My boy, I have no cultivation or farm-work of any kind, so what kind of work can I give you, to keep you as my servant? Please find some one else to be your employer! At that time he did not answer a single word. Then I left him, and to put him off my tracks I came running very fast; but this boy tracked me everywhere all along and followed me, as you see, right here to our house. Well, this boy has come with great expectations, what shall we two say to him? in what kind of work can we keep him, or what shall we say to him?"

When the she-jackal had heard all this to the end, she went out and asked the boy: "Look here, boy, for what purpose have you followed this one⁷ here, or what have you come for?"

"To you I have come to be in your service," he replied.

"There is no work to be had with us," she said, "what can we let you do?"

"Whatever you give me to do," he replied, "that I shall do."

Adqe metadea, Ma calakme, alin then dq kamige banukan.

Enka menkate uni toyo ehga orakteye boloyena se ona dander-teye boloyena, adq enre ho uni koqa dq ondegeye durup akangea, bae beret kana. Adq qher dhabic hoeyen khan, unkin toyo dq bana horkin menketa, Nui gidra dq jahanak balañ emae khan dq qhqe uthaulena. Ma jahanaklañ emaea. Adq mittan gaiye tahëkantakina; adokin menketa, Ma nui gaigelañ em daporaea.

Adq sari uni gaikin udukadea arkin metadea, Ma babu, nui gailin emam kana, idijonme. Guti dq baliñ dhoqyetmea, arlin laiam kana, nui gairege jotoak menaka, jegem khoje, onageye emama, metakme, thari bati, lota, taben khajari, mithai, kicric khandak, caole, bulun sunum, mosola, se jotoakgeye emama. Arho jom nu barakate metaeme, ma baekam mente, adqe baekatama.

Adq onkakin metade khan, uni dq adi raskakateye beret goten-teye menketa, Acha baba, khusiteben eman kan khan dqñ hataoea.

Adokin menketa, Khusitegeliñ emam kana.

Khange adq uni gaiye laga aguyede kana. Adq hijuk hijukte belayen khan dq, dak tetañede kana ar rengecede kana. Adqe menketa, Okare ban dak in nam? Bhala nui gaiyin qe gelakea, sari se naseye emoka mente. Adq khange dadiye nel namketa; adq ona dadi-thene calaoen khan dq, mittan maejiu dak lo ondegeye hecena. Adq un johenge uni koqa dq gaiye metae kana, Den ayo, thari bati ar jol pan emanme. Khange uni maejiu dq tan mane heñel kana. Adq sari thari ar batiye emadea ar jol pan, noako jotoqe moca khone ula odokadea. Arho jom barakateye metadea, Ma ayo, baekakme. Adq sari ona thari ar bati dqe utketa.

¹⁰ Addressing as 'mother' shows honour and respect and endearment. The term is frequently used to females with whom no relationship is established, even to girls very much younger than oneself. It may be that this has come in from the Bengalis. Some of the Santal religious sects that have shown themselves sporadically since about 1874 have adopted this form of addressing all females. Our way of addressing children might be compared.

"Please go," she said, "there is no work to be had with us."

Having said this the she-jackal entered the house, or rather, she entered the cave. Still the boy remained sitting there; he did not get up. When a long time had passed, the jackals, both of them, said: "If we do not give this child something, he will surely not move from here. Let us give him something." Now they had a cow, so they said: "Let us give him this cow and have done with him."

Thereupon they showed him that cow and said to him: "Well, my boy, we are giving you this cow; take her along with you. We cannot keep you as a servant, but we tell you this, everything is to be found in this cow; whatever you ask her for, she will give you, that is to say, brass plates and cups and lotas⁸, taben and khajari, sweets, clothes, rice, salt, oil, spices, in short, everything. Again when you have had your food and drink, tell her to put it away for you; and she will do so."

When they had said this to him, he got up very glad and happy and said: "Very well, father, since you are giving me this with pleasure⁹, I shall take her."

"We give her to you with pleasure," they both said.

Thereupon he started driving the cow away. As he was going along and it became late in the afternoon, he felt thirsty and hungry, and said: "Wherever shall I find water? I wonder, I might try to ask this cow whether she really will give or not." He thereupon caught sight of a water-pool; when he went down to that, a woman came there to fetch water. Just at that moment the boy said to the cow: "Please, mother¹⁰, give me a plate and a cup and some light refreshments." The woman was looking on, all she could, and, in very truth, the cow gave him a plate and a cup and some light refreshments; all this she brought out of her mouth. When he had eaten, he again said to her: "Please, mother, put it away." And then, in very truth, she swallowed the plate and the cup.

Ado enkae hellede khangé uni maejiu dō dake lokette hare phare orakte senente acen herel noako joto kathae laideade are metadea, Mase uni gai dō jähā lekatelan egeyegea. Khangé sari phorpundikin joraoketa uni gai egeye lagit. Khangé uni herel hor dō hare phare calaoente uni korae sen tiokkedeade; adge metadea, Den babu, cun thamakur emokme, jomletamgealan. Ar nui gai dō okatem idiyea?

Adge menketa, Hana phalna atote.

Arhōe metadea, Oka khonem aguyede kana?

Hana phalna ato khon.

Arhōe kuliyede kana, Henda babum kiring aguyede kana se orakren gai kangetamae?

Adge menketa, Orakrenge; ondeye tahēkana, adon agu ruarede kana.

Ado henda babu, nui gai dom akriñkea?

Adge menketa, Bañ, nui gai dō qhon akriñlea.

Khangé ado uni hore menketa, Henda babu, teheñge nāhāk orak dom tioga se qhom tioklea?

Adge menketa, Teheñ dō qhon tiok darelea, gapa dō nāhāk in tioggea ayup sumunkote dō, ar bankhan mean dō nāhāk adiren tioga.

Ado babu, teheñ dō okarem gitica?

Adge menketa, Jāhārege ayubok, ondegen gitica.

Adge metadea, Pera jāhān noakore menakkotama?

Adge menketa, Pera dō banukkotina.

Adge metadea, Ia babu, tobe khan dō dela ale thenge teheñ dō gitic aṅgakme; jom hū hōle emama ar nui gai lagit jom hōle emama, cedak ente eskargeñ neletmeten metam kana.

¹¹ The Santal way of using tobacco is as follows; a bit of a tobacco leaf and some unslaked mussel lime is put in the hollow of the hand and thoroughly mixed by grinding the stuff with the thumb or the end of a stick. A small pinch of the powder is then thrown into the mouth and chewed, the stuff being ultimately spat out. People meeting each other, strangers or not, will stop up and ask for tobacco, the one asking being quite prepared to give. It really means an

When the woman had seen all this, she drew water, hurried back home and told her husband all she had seen, saying to him: "This cow we must somehow or other cheat him for." So they concocted some stratagem for doing this, and the man went hurriedly and overtook the boy and said to him: "Please, my boy, give lime and tobacco¹¹ and let us taste what you have. Where are you taking this cow?"

"To such and such a village," the boy replied.

"From where are you bringing her?" the man again asked him.

"From such and such a village."

"I say, my boy," the man again asked, "have you bought the cow, or is she a cow from your own house?"

"She is from our house," the boy replied; "she was there, and I am taking her back again."

"Look here, my boy, would you be willing to sell this cow?"

"No," the boy replied, "I am not selling this cow at all."

Then the man said: "Look here, my boy, will you be able to reach home to-day now, or will you not?"

"To-day," he replied, "I shall not be able to reach home, to-morrow I shall arrive there at nightfall, or else I shall be home the day after to-morrow very early."

"Where are you going to pass the night then, my boy?"

"Wherever I may be at nightfall, there I shall pass the night," he said.

"Have you relatives or friends of any kind hereabouts?" the man asked him.

"I have no friends," the boy replied.

"I say, my boy," the man said to him, "in that case, come along and pass the night with us. We shall give you food and drink, we shall also give you food for this cow of yours. I say this to you, because I see you are alone."

invitation to stop and have a talk. If anybody refuses, it means either that the person is in a great hurry or that he is unwilling to talk with the other party. It is, of course, only men who practise this.

Ado menketa, Oko badae, bando nondeh tahen, bando atra dhur in sen hogok.

Ado metadea, Ancinre derak do ber tahenregeko deraka, ar ber hasurkate derak do ban besa. Ar nelme, am do gai menaetama, jahā atore huhumkatem rakaþlen khan do kombro hoko men dareama, ar nui gai ho mit lagate do tinakem idiyea? Uni ho thora do bam jirau hōgea? Ina doe atin barajona.

Ado onka adi leka najere udukadea. Ar adi lekae galmaraoade khan do mone labitkettaea. Khane menketa, Acha endekhan delañ am orakrege tehen don gitić aṅgalenge.

Ado onkae menket khan doe ayur idikede ać orakte. Ado seter torage aimaitet doe men gotadea, Den hare phare busup agu godme, nui gaiye joma becara, tin khon con reñgećtegeye laga aguyede kana.

Khange uni aimai do busupe hobor agu gotketa; ado unre uni koṛa do uni aimaiye nel oromkede a, dak ghatre jol pan in jom jokhen do nui maejiugeye tahakana mente. Unre nui doe nellidina, dhorage nui gai dokin eren con cet con. Ona do mongeregeye menwana.

Ado uni herel hore menketa, Ma babu, ona gorare tolkaeme.

Ado sari uniak gorareye tolkadete busupe emadea, dakkoe emadea, ado inaktege ayupena. Ado kedok okte hoeyen khan do, kedokko isinketa, ado uni hore menketa, Nui pera gidra ho kedok disayepe. Ado noa kathage uni hor do phenteye rorketa, banma, Usul buru rakaþ tarup dharna buru siloda ho?

Ado aimaitet doe utar ruar gotketa, Hoi, hoi! damha khon dumhete don argo akata.

Ado lo baraket khan, herel hor do orakteye boloyente ać riniće metae kana, Alin do daka emalinme; alin dakalin jojom jokhenge

¹² The two enigmatic sentences refer in a veiled way to the food. It is ready.

¹³ Directly from the cooking pot to the plate or cup.

¹⁴ Before eating water is always given, and they go aside and wash their hands. The same is repeated after food, but not so carefully.

"Who knows," the boy replied, "whether I should remain here or walk on halfway?"

"To camp where you are unknown," the man said, "may do whilst the sun is up; after sunset, it is not safe to camp in that way. Remember also, you have a cow. If you, after it has become dusk, enter a village, they might call you a thief, and how can you drive this cow along without stopping? Ought you not to let her rest a little also? Then she will be able to graze a little also."

The man tried to persuade him in this way by mentioning several things, and when he had mentioned a great many considerations, he softened him, so he said: "Very well then, come, let me pass the night in your house to-night."

As he said this, the man led him along to his own house; when they reached there, the man at once spoke to his wife: "Do bring some straw quickly, let this cow get something to eat, poor animal; he has been driving her along since who knows when, without her getting any food."

The woman then brought some straw in her arms, and the boy recognized the woman: "It was this same woman who was at the watering-place, when I asked the cow for light refreshments. Then she saw me; surely, now they will cheat me for this cow, it seems." He said this to himself.

"Well, my boy," the man said to him, "tie your cow in the cow-shed."

He did so, tied the cow there, gave her straw and gave her water, and during this it became evening. When the time for supper came, they prepared this; the man said: "Remember this young visitor also with supper." Thereupon the man spoke these words allegorically: "The leopard that ascended the high mountain, is he kept a prisoner, the huge mountain beast?"

And the woman at once answered: "Yes, yes, from the gorge I have brought it down to the foot of the hill¹²."

When she had poured out¹³ the food, the husband went into the house and said to his wife: "Give us two food; whilst we

am dō gorate bōlō gōdokte nui ren gāi dō rārakaeme, ar uni gāi lekaniēge aboren gāi ona babertege uni gāiye tōl akade t̄henge am dō hare phare tōl hōtkaeme, ar nōṇḍe oḍok hijukme.

Adō sārī dakae lo gōtkette dake taṇat̄kina are metat̄kina, Ḃbukben, kedokbon jōmlege.

Adō sārī uni herel hōr dō baṭi dake sap̄ gōtketteye mēnketa, Ma bābu laṇ Ḃbukoka, kedokbo jōm barawanrege.

Adōe mēnketa, Ma amge jōmme.

Adōe metadea, Baṇ bābu, ma bana hōrgelaṇ jōma.

Adō uni korae mēnketa, Dēn ēṇḍekhan iṇ dō nōterege āguāṇpe.

Adō uni hōre mēnketa, Oṛakregelaṇ jōma. Hē, oṛak baṇ taḥen khan, niākore hō jutokgea; adō oṛak menak̄ tuluē nōtere dō cedak? Hē, pōr jātem taḥen khan, nōteregele ēmkema, mēnkhan geāt̄ kantem oṛaktele aderet̄mea.

Khange onkae metade khan, Ḃbukente oṛaktekin bōloyena. Adō dakae ēm barawat̄kinte uni āimai dōe oḍokente oṇeye metade lekaketae. Adō dakakin jōmkeṭ khankin oḍokena, adō Ḃbuk barakate cun thamakure emadea; bēnaokettekin jōm baraketa. Adōe metae kana, Iṇ bābu, ma gāi dō rāra oḍokete nōtere barē toletam, rōk bōtēḱketamako.

Adō sārī rāra oḍokkedete gōra duārrege tōlkadetaea, ar hūt iate bae ṇel t̄hikledea. Adō gitiē āngayente piāṇ payāṇ jōkhene lagakadea, adō ḡṇre hō bae ṇel oromedeā. Adō rēṇḡēḱkede khan, dak̄ ghaṭ t̄hene idikedeteye kōeye kana, Dēn ayo, thārī baṭi emāṇme. Adō bae emae kana. Adō bar pē dhaoe kōekedere hō bae emade khan dōe bujhaṇketa, nui gāi dōe baṇ kana mēnte, gāi dō oṇḍegeko bōḍoladiṇa.

¹⁵ Here not the goḍet, but a person called 'chowkedar', a kind of village constable, who is supposed to walk through the village several times each night, calling out in a loud voice, as he walks along. The idea is to ascertain whether people are at home, and to warn against thieves. There is one chowkedar to each village, or if the village is very small, one to two or even three neighbouring villages. They are paid from certain taxes, and are appointed by the local magistrate. Here the chowkedar is brought in to give an official colouring to the house-search. Ordinary people have no right to such extremes.

are eating, you go to the cattle-shed and untie his cow; then be quick and tie with the same string and where he has tied his cow one of ours, looking like that cow, and then come out here."

She did so. When she had poured out the food, she brought them water and said to them: "Please wash your hands, we shall have supper at once."

The man then took a bowl with water and said: "Please, my friend, let us wash our hands; we shall now have supper before anything else."

"Please, eat yourself," the boy said.

"No, my friend," the man said, "we shall both of us eat together,"

"Please then," the boy said, "bring it to me somewhere here."

But the man said: "We shall eat inside. Well, if we had no house, it would do also hereabouts; but when we have a house, why hereabouts? Yes, if you had been of another race, we should have let you have it hereabouts; but as you are the same as ourselves, we are taking you into the house."

When he had spoken to him thus, they washed¹⁴ and went inside, and the woman put food before them, whereupon she went out and did as the man had told her. When the two had had their meal, they went out and washed their hands, and he gave him lime and tobacco. When he had prepared this, they chewed, whereupon he said to the boy: "I say, my friend, untie your cow and bring her out and tie her somewhere here; the others might but and gore your one."

Then he really did this. He untied her, brought her out, and tied her at the entrance to the cow-shed; but as it was dark, he did not see the cow properly. He slept till dawn, and at daybreak he drove the cow away with him; still he did not recognize her, that it was not his own. When he felt hungry, he took her down to a watering-place and asked her: "Please, mother, give me a plate and a bowl." But she did not give him. As she, although he asked her two three times, did not give him anything, he understood that this one was not his own cow, but that they had exchanged cows for him there.

Khange uni koṛa dō oṇḍe khonge uni gai dōe laga ruṛkedete, oṇeye gitiḍen ona atotegeye laga ṛgukedete ona atoren hoṛe jarwaketkoa. Adō jarwakateko kulikedeā, Cele bābu, ceṭ laḡitem jarwaketlea?

Adō unreye menkeṭa, Iṛ baba, iṇ dō phalna ato khon mittāṇ gai iṇ ṛgujoṇ kan tahēkana, adō nindayente noa oṛakreṇ gitiḍ kana. Adō daka jomko aderkidiṇa, unrege gai doko bōḍoladiṇa; eṭak gai iṇiṇ tōlledē then doko tōlkadeā. Menkhan iṇren gaire dō mit leka gun menakṭaeā, thāri bāṭi koḷe khan dōe emaṇgeā. Adō nui gai iṇ koḷe kana, adō bae emaṇ kana; onareṇ baḍaeketa, nui gai dōe baṇ kantiṇa mente. Adō iṇ eskarte koḷere ma pasete pheprayiṇ, onate adō ape ato hoṛ dōṇ rak akawatpea. Adō ṇel oromkate gaiye emkaetiṇ ma. Inaḡe katha dō.

Khange ato hoṛ uniko kulikedeā, Cele ho phalna, masē laime, nui koṛae laiket, ona katha dō sari se nase kana?

Khange uni hoṛ dō phepraē ehoṛkeṭa, ṛḍi lekaē roṛ idiketa; menkhan ato hoṛ ona katha dō bako sen ocoattaeā, metadeako, Nui bapuriḍ gidṛa alom posrayea; ente ale dō atoren hoṛ kanale, nui gaile ṇel oromedetama; nui mae amren kan, gidṛa pidṛa joto hoṛ geko ṇel akadetama; ṇaṇari gai ma judaḡeko ṇeloḷ.

Adō uni hoṛe menkeṭa, Ma ente iṇren gai palre ṇelkope, judi ṇaṇari gaibe ṇamketkoa menkhan, saḡaiyiṇpe.

Adō sari uniren gai palteko calaoena; adō bako ṇamleḍeā. Adō maṇjhi hoṛe menkeṭa, Judi nuiren gaile ṇamkedeā menkhan, tinakem emōka?

Adō uni hoṛe menkeṭa, ṇamle khanpe, ḡel ṭakan emōka, ar bape ṇamle khan dō, nui gidṛa tire menae gai iṇ hataoeā.

Adoko menkeṭa, Hē, hataoem.

Adō maṇjhiye menkeṭa, Do se ḡhor tolasitaepe.

¹⁶ Every Santal house in which the head of the family lives has a bhitār. This is part of the otherwise one-roomed house, in one corner, separated from the rest of the room by a low wall, which runs out from the side-wall and some two to three meters into the compartment. It is a kind of stall, and is sacred to the ancestors. Here food &c., only a very little, is put for the ancestors.

The boy then drove the cow back from there, brought her to the village where he had slept, and called the people of that village together. When they had come together, they asked the boy: "Well, young man, for what purpose have you called us together?"

Then he said: "Well, sirs, I was bringing a cow with me from such and such a village, and as I was benighted, I passed the night here in this house. They took me inside to give me food, and just at that moment they exchanged my cow. They tied another cow where I had tied mine. Now my cow has a certain quality: when I ask her for plates and bowls, she gives me that. But when I ask this one, she does not give me anything. Thereby I understood that this cow is not mine. If I myself alone ask him, perhaps he might be obstinate towards me; therefore I have complained to you village people. Let him find out my cow and give her to me. That is my case."

The village people then asked the man: "Well, so and so, please tell, what this boy has now told, is that true or false?"

Then that man commenced to use falsehood and talked a good deal; but the village people would not let his word pass for good and said to him: "Don't treat this poor child in such an overbearing way. We belong to this village, and we recognize this cow of yours. This one is your cow, that children and grown ups, in fact all people have seen. Strange cows look otherwise."

"Well then," the man said, "look over my cows in my herd; if you find any strange cow there, punish me."

Then they went to the cow-herd of this map and did not find a strange one. The village headman then said: "If we should find this boy's cow, how much will you give?"

"If you find her," the man replied, "I shall give ten rupees, and if you don't find her, I shall take the cow which is in the hands of this boy."

"Yes," they said, "take her."

The headman then said: "Do, search his house."

Khange sari caukidar lagaete oraakteko bōloyen khan dō, bhitarre gai dōtōl akadeko namkedeae. Adō uni gidrako metadeae, Cele bābu, nui kantamae?

Adōe mēnketa, Hē, nui kangeae.

Tōbē ma idiyetam.

Adōe idikedeae, ar uni hōr dō gēl takako dāḍōmkedeae.

Adō eṇē cabayena katha dō, in maraṅgea.

6. Tōyo ar raj hōpōn reaṇ.

Sedae jugre, kathae, miṭṭaṇ raje tahēkana; uni rajren dō miṭṭaṇ koṛa hōpōn eskargeye tahēkantaeta, ardō cele hō bako tahēkantaeta.

Adō taheṇ tahēnte, bhāi, cekakote coṇ adō uni raj dōe reṅgecēna, adō nunāk āte reṅgecēna, ceṭ baṇ sē, kōe baṛae lekenae, ar uni koṛa gidrā hō mērom gupī leke harayena.

Adō uni raj dō ac hōpōntet miṭ din dōe sikhaukedeae sēye galmaraoae kana, lā bābu, amgeṇ galmaraoam kana, nōkōebon reṅgec cabayena; sedae dō aḍi baṛic cij tahēkantabona, ar disom hō tahēkangetabona, gai kaḍa hōko tahēkangea. Adō nōkōe cetre coṇ cekayente sanam dhōn durib cabayentabona; adō am reaṇ nitok dō aḍi bhabnaliṇ aḱaueṭa. Sedae dō aḍi baṛic toa daheliṇ jomketa, adō am biḍal dō ceṭ hō baṇ juṭauk kana, onate aḍi bhabnaliṇ aḱaueṭa. Adō bābu, am in lai oṭoam kana, noa dhartire dō aḍi baṛic raj menakkoa, raj cetan raj menakkoa. Nitok dō in hōṇ harāmena ar eṅgam hōe buḍhiyena; aliṇ dō pase oka hilok colīṇ gujuk. Am dō haṛak raj ṭhen baṛe hapen hirlajōnme aliṇ baṇ hilok dō.

Adō oraḱre ceṭ upai hō bako aḱauleṭte uni koṛa gidrā dō miṭṭaṇ raj ṭhenkin gutikadea; adō uni gidrā dō mērom gupiko

No stranger is permitted inside this stall. A married daughter of the house, who in her girl days might go in there, is frequently not permitted inside. She now belongs to another family and might cause religious pollution.

Then they together with the village watchman¹⁵ entered the house and found the cow tied in the *bhitār*¹⁶, the inner apartment reserved for the ancestors. They asked the boy: "Well, young man, how is it, is this your cow?"

"Yes," he replied, "it is this one."

"Well then, take your cow with you."

So he went away with his cow, and they fined that man ten rupees.

So there this story is at an end. It is thus much.

6. THE JACKAL AND THE PRINCE.

ONCE upon a time in the old days, people tell, there was a king, and this king had a son, an only one, and besides him he had no children.

Well, my dear fellow, as time passed, this king somehow or other became poor, he grew so poor, you can scarcely believe it, he became such as to go round and beg, and his son grew up to be fit to be a goat-herd.

One day the king gave his son some advice, that is, he talked to him: "Listen, my son, I am speaking to you; you see, we have grown poor. Formerly we had any amount of property; we had a kingdom¹, we had also cows and buffaloes. But now, however it has come to pass, all our wealth and goods have come to an end, and we are much concerned about you. Formerly we were having any amount of milk and curds; but in your time nothing at all comes into our hands; and we are feeling very dejected. Now, my son, I tell you this, before I leave you: in this world there is a tremendous number of kings, there are kings upon kings. Now I have become an old man, and your mother also is an old woman; we shall likely die some day, sooner or later. The day when we are no more, seek protection with some big king.

As they did not see any means of help at home, they let their boy take service with a king², where they set him to herd

dhuraukedeā, adō uni gidrā dō ɔndegēye tahēyēna. Adō jom hū, kicrić, jotogetko emaea, ar bōchor puraukate dō bar ʔaka dorma-hako emaea; nonkate uni gidrā dōe ʔsulok kan tahēkana.

Adō taheṇ tahēnte, kathae, uni gidraren apattēť dōe goćēna. Khange uni eṅat buđhi dō ʔđi bařice rak baraea. Adō uni gidrā kořae menkeťa, Iā raj, ʔpuhe goćēna, ʔđi uni reak iṇ kaj kořom lağıť rinte thořa thuri ʔaka emañme.

Adō uni raje menkeťa, Em maṇ emamge, adō cekatem halaetiṇa?

Adō uni kořae menkeťa, Ona ʔaka ʔuriṇ halaetam dḥabić am baře kḥaťoiṇme.

Adō raj hō, kathae, uniak roře aṇjomkettaea, adō mōřē ʔakae emadea. Adō uni gidrā menkeťa, Noate dō oka hō ɔhō hoelena, arhō mōřē ʔaka emañme, ar baṅkhan mōřē ʔaka reak caole baře emañme.

Adō ʔari mōřē ʔaka reak caolegeye emadea. Adō onako idikate peřae neťotakētkoa, adō peřa jarwakateko kaj kořomkeťa. Adō jom hū barakate onko peřa dōe biđa goťkatkoa. Adō arhō uni kořa dō uni kišāř thengeye calaoena.

Arhō dapoř akat iṇa mōřē turui māhā tayom khange uni eṅgattēť hōe goćēna. Adō arhō ona katha uni aćren kišāře laiadea, are metadea, Deṇ arhō rinte ʔaka emañme.

Adō uni kišāře menkeťa, E ya, rinte ʔđim teṇok kana; ne bar ʔakaṇ emam kana; ma niāte baře kajkakme.

Adō uni kořae menkeťa, Baṇa, raj, tiṇakre hōṇ jāhānre hō, ɔḥil unāk baře emañme; baṇ hala dareaktam khan, jiveť bhor am thengeṇ tahēna, eṇre hōm emañgea.

¹ See p. 33, note 3. The Santali text has 'land', here meaning something belonging to a king or landlord.

² See the same note p. 33.

³ Servants wages have been: food and clothes (two sets) and one rupee per year. Now-a-days they are raised to something more, four or five rupees, or other arrangements are made.

goats, and the boy stayed on there. They gave him his food and drink and clothes, in fact everything, and when a year was past, they gave him two rupees in wages³. In this way this child was maintaining himself.

In the course of time the father of the boy died, and his old mother was crying very much. The boy then said: "I say, king, my father has died; as I have much to perform on his behalf⁴, please lend me a few rupees."

"I will certainly give you," the king replied; "but how are you going to pay me back?"

"Keep me in your service," the boy said, "until I pay you the money back."

The king listened to him and gave him five rupees; but the boy said: "With this nothing can be done; give me five rupees more, or else give me five rupees worth of rice."

So he gave him five rupees worth of rice; and, taking it all with him, the boy went and invited his friends and relatives, and when these had come together, he performed the usual ceremonies. When the friends had feasted, he bade farewell to them, and again returned to his employer.

Then, what a pity it was, some five or six days afterwards his mother also died. He again told his employer this, and said to him: "Please, lend me some rupees more."

His employer said: "Well, my lad, you are much burdened by debt; look, I am giving you two rupees; do what you have to do with this."

"No, king," the boy replied, "however much it may be and whatever may happen to me, please give me as much as the first time. If I cannot repay you, I shall stay with you my whole life; still you must give me."

⁴ The Santals have also a number of ceremonies to perform in connexion with death, the last among these being what is called *bhaṇḍan*, performed after some of the bones of the cremated body have been thrown into the Damuda river.

Ado bhāi, ādiye nehōren khane emadea; ado jotore kūrī ṭakae hisābadea are ol dōhokata. Ado ona tayom uni rajren hōpōntetko añjomketa, nui mērom gupi kōra isi ṭaka rine emadea mente. Khange apattetko ruhet barakedea. Ado uni apattete menketa, Acha cekaeam adōñ emade khan?

Ar uni rajren dō eae goṭaṇ kōra hōpōnko tahēkantaea, ado onkoge onka dōko metae kana. Arko meneta, Cet helte unāk ṭaka dōm emadea? Uni dō cete ona ṭaka dōe halaea? Uni dō abo ṭhene lade akana, arhō rinem emae kana? Ado raj dō inā kathage arhōe meneta, Acha nit dō idi ocoae ma; hapen jāhā hilo ke halaea.

Ado sari uni kōra dōe idikette engat reake kaj koromketa. Arhō ruarkate uni kōra dō uni kisār ṭhengeye tahēyena.

Ado taheṇ tahente uni kōra dō onko raj hōpōn kōra dingeko arisea, ona ṭaka reakgeko dhirāuea. Khange uni kōra gidra dō oṇe ṭapate metade tahēkan, ona kathae disaketa, baṇma, Noa dhartire dō ādi utaṛ raj menakkoa, raj cetan rajge menakkoa. Nonka khijlāute dō noko ṭhen dō oṇōñ tahē dārelena. Okoe tora nōṇḍe khon dōñ dāra.

Ado onka menkate uni kōra dō oṇḍe khone dārketa, adoe menketa, Jāhārege dharti mōtoren maraṇ raj in ṇamkoa, onko ṭhengeṇ tahēna. Ado onkae hudis idiyeta are calao idiḱ kana.

Ado calak calakte, kathae, raj bariatkoe ṇamketkoa, bāhuko idiyede kan. Adoe kuliketkoa, Henda ho, okaren bariatko kanape?

Adoko laiadea, baṇma, Phalnaren raj kanae; bāhu āgule senlena; hōpōntet kōra laḡit bāhule āguyede kana, ar ḥaniaṇ ḥaram raj dō lahareko goḱ akadea khurkhurire.

⁵ Marriages are as grand as possible, and a large body of men start from the bridegroom's house to attend the marriage ceremony and bring the bride back. These here are on their way back and are evidently Hindus.

⁶ See p. 32, note 1. There are several shapes, the one here referred to is called *khurkhuri*. These have a bottom hanging from a long pole, which is curved like a dromedary's back, with a cloth-covering hanging down over the litter on both sides from the pole.

As he implored him very much, he let him have it; he made an account with him for altogether twenty rupees, and wrote it down. Shortly afterwards the king's sons heard that their father had lent twenty rupees to this goat-herd boy, and scolded him on that account. The father only said: "Well, what will you do, since I gave it to him?"

This king had seven sons, and it was they who spoke thus. They said: "What did you see that you gave him so many rupees? What has he to enable him to repay the money? He has been thrown upon us, a burden; on the top of that, you are lending him money?" The king again replied in the same way: "Well, let him have it now; some day in future he will pay it back."

The boy went away with the money and performed the proper ceremonies for his mother, and having come back again, he stayed on with his employer.

As the days passed, those princes worried the boy every day and used threats towards him in connexion with this money. Then the boy remembered the words his father had spoken to him, namely: "In this world there is a tremendous number of kings; there are kings upon kings. When they are tormenting me in this way, I shall certainly not be able to stay. I shall run away from here this instant."

With this in his mind, the boy ran away from there. "Somewhere I shall find the biggest kings on earth and shall stay with them," saying this to himself, he went along.

As he was walking along, he met with a royal bridal procession⁵; they were carrying the bride along. "I say," he spoke to them, "wherefrom are you with this bride?"

"She belongs to such and such a king," they told him; "we went to bring the bride; we are bringing a bride for his son. Look there in the distance in front of us they are carrying the old king in a litter⁶."

Ado uni koṛa dōe mēnketa, Okōe tora iñ hō nui rajgeñ pañja idiyēa, pasēte nui kange marañ raj dō. Ado onka hudiskate uni koṛa dō uni raj tayom tayomtegeye pañja idiyetkōa.

Ado un jōkheṅge, kathae, eṅga toyo dō onko lahareye nīr parom gofēna. Ado khange uni haṛam raj dō khurkhuṛi khon oḍokkate uni eṅga toyogeye salamadea. Ado uni koṛa dō onae nēlkede khane mēnketa, Nui toyogeye maraña; judi nui raj maraṅe taheṅ khan, uni toyo dō oḥqe salamlea. Ado onka bujhaṁ barakate uni koṛa dō raj bariātko bagikate uni toyogeye pañjakedea; jāhā sēnge uni toyoe calak, ontege uni koṛa hōe calak kana, uni toyogeye pañja baraye kana.

Ar sē uni toyo dō hopon akatkote hopon laḡit jomak sendrae senlena. Ado uni koṛae pañja barayedete okare hō bae at dareata. Uni toyo dō meṛomko sē jāhānko uni koṛa bōtorte bae at dareata. Adoe aṛisen khan, danderteye ruar calaoena. Khange hoponko dō keyon meyonko rak daramadea. Ado uni eṅga toyo dō haṛamteṭe laiae kana, baṅma, Teheñ dō miṭṭaṅ manwa goṭa ṭaṇḍiye pañja barayedina; jāhā sēngeñ calak, ontegeye pañjayedina kana. Onate teheñ dō okare hō baṅ at dareata, eḡeṅgeñ ruar heḡena. Inḡeye khudaṁ baraṅ lekaṅ aikaukette baṅ goḡetkōa, ar uni manwa dō nonḡe haḡiḡe pañja aḡukidina.

Ado uni aṇḍiaṁ toyoe mēnketa, Ado oka sēn uni manwa dōe calaoena?

Adoe mēnketa, Honteregeñ nēl oḡokadea, adoe oka senen coṅ.

Ado uni aṇḍiaṁ mēnketa, Do sē nēllem, bhalae oka senena.

Ado saṛi oḡok nōḡkkateye nēlkede dō, dander duarreye japak akan. Ado paḡ ruarḡateye metadea, Nonḡege duar ṭhene japak akana. Ar uni koṛa dō japakkate onte noteye beṅgeṭ barayeta. Ado ona dander sēne beṅgeṭkeṭ dō miṭṭaṅ ḡaiye nēl nāmkedea; ado roṛ dō ceṭ hō bae roṛ barayeta, eḡeṅe thir akangea.

⁷ See p. 33, note 2.

⁸ The word used by the jackal, *manwa*, means man, one of the human species, as different from an animal.

The boy then said: "Well then, I also shall now this instant follow this king; perhaps he is the big king." Thinking this, the boy followed after the king's procession.

Just then, people tell, a she-jackal ran across the road⁷ in front of them, and the old king got out of the litter and saluted the she-jackal. When the boy saw him do so, he said: "This jackal is the bigger one; if the king were the bigger one, he would surely not have saluted the jackal." Having reached this conclusion, the boy left the royal bridal procession and followed after the jackal. Wherever the jackal went, there also the boy went, he was constantly tracking the jackal.

Now this jackal had got young ones and had been out to hunt for food for them, and as the boy was following her, she could nowhere get a chance to catch anything. Out of fear of the boy, she was unable to find an opportunity to take a goat or anything else. As she got disgusted at this, she returned to her cave, and her young ones met her whining and whimpering. The she-jackal then spoke to her husband and said: "To-day a man⁸ has been following me everywhere. In whatever direction I went, there he followed me. Therefore I have not been able to get a chance anywhere to-day; I have come back empty-handed. I felt as if he were pursuing me; therefore I did not kill anything, and this man has followed me right up here."

"And where has the man gone now?" the he-jackal asked.

"I last saw him over there," she replied. "Who knows where he has gone?"

"Do," the he-jackal said, "do look out and see where he has gone."

She consequently peeped out a little, and there he was, leaning against the side of the entrance to the cave. Drawing herself back she said: "He is here, leaning against the side of the entrance." The boy standing there leaning in this way, looked hither and thither. As he looked towards the cave, he saw a cow; but he did not say a single word, he remained silent.

Ado uni aṇḍiā toyoe meneta, Do se kuliyeṃ, bhala uni manwa do cete ṇam kana.

Ado uni eṅga doe meneta, Do am baṛe kuliyeṃ. Ado onka bana hoṛkin apaj kana.

Ado uni aṇḍiā doe meneta, Amge enan khone paṇja barayet-mea, am baṛe kuliyeṃ.

Ado onka uni aṇḍiāi metade khan doe oḍokenteye metae kana, Henda manwa, cet nonḍe ḍom ṇam kana?

Ado uni koṛae meneta, Aben thenge hirlajoṇ in ḍoṇ hec akana.

Ado uni eṅga do boloyente aṇḍiāi laiadea, baṇma, Uni do alaṇ thenge hirlajoṇe hec akana.

Ado onkae laiade khan, kathae, bana hoṛkin oḍokena, aḍokin metae kana, Aliṇ ḍoliṇ toyo jat kana ar am ḍom manwa kana; aliṇ then do cekatem hirla daṛeaka? Am laḡit jom do cekateliṇ kulau daṛekema? Do calakme. Ar aliṇ then do kami hoṛ baṇuk-taliṇa, cetliṇ kami ocomea?

Ado uniye meneta, Ohogeṇ senlena; aben jāhānakgeben kami ocoṇ, onageṇ kamia. In do aben then askateṇ hec akana; nit do ohogeṇ senlena.

Ado onka aḍi jide roṛket khan, unkin toyo do māyā lagaoket-kina, ado aḱin aḱinkin galmaraokeṭa, baṇma, Nui manwa do alaṇ then aḍi askateye hec akana; jāhānak balaṇ bhōrae khan do, nonḍe khon-ohogeye senlena. Ma nui gaigelaṇ em dapoṛaea.

Ado saṛi uni gaikin emadea arkin metadea, Ado manwa, aliṇ then bhorsa montem hecen khan do, acha eṇḍekhan amak paṭiaṇ lekaliṇ emam kana. Nūkui miṭṭaṇ gaiye tahēkantaliṇa; ado uni gaige amlīṇ emam kana, ar nui gai khonge amak do sanamak hoyoktama. Jāhānakge am jaṛuṛam, ona do nui gai ayo men-kate koeyeme, onako joṭo nui gai khonem ṇama. Ar jāhānakgem

⁹ The Santal word *hirla* means refuge and protection, the protecting party standing between the other and all difficulties. The person seeking *hirla* acknowledges the protector as the one with whom he will deal in his relations to others. A servant is in his master's *hirla*, a wife is in the *hirla* of her husband, children in that of their father and so on.

"Do," the he-jackal said, "do ask him, what can this man possibly want?"

"You ask him, please," the she-jackal said. In this way they were urging each other.

Then the he-jackal said: "It is you he has been following the whole time. You ask him."

As the he-jackal said this, she went out and asked him: "Look here, man, what do you want here?"

"I have come to seek protection⁹ with you," the boy said.

The she-jackal then entered the cave and spoke to her husband: "He has come to seek protection with us."

As he spoke in this way, they both went out and said to the boy: "We are of the jackal race and you are a man; how could you possibly find protection with us? How should we be able to provide you with food? Please, go away. There is no work for you with us; what could we let you do?"

"I am not going away," he replied. "Whatever you give me to do, that I shall do. I have come to you with great expectations; I am certainly not going away now."

As he spoke so persistingly, the two jackals felt compassion for him, and had some talk together, saying: "This man has come to us with great expectations; if we do not give him some kind of blessing, he will surely not go away from here. Let us give him this cow and have done with him."

Then, in very truth, they gave him the cow and said to him: „Well, man, as you came to us with expectations in your heart, we are giving you something according to your faith. Look here, we have a cow, and we are giving you this. From this cow you may get everything; whatever you need, ask this cow for that, calling her mother¹⁰, and you will get it all from her. But whatever you ask her for, don't do it in the presence of people; otherwise they will rob you. When you ask her for anything,

¹⁰ See p. 48, note 10.

køeye, ona do horko samañre do alom køeyea, bañkhanko rećmea. Am døm køeye khan, eskarre køeyeme, ar jãhãeko buļaumere hõ, am do alogem emakoa.

Ado uni koṛae menkeṭa, Acha, ado niage bhoṛben emadiñ khan, uḍi maha bhaḡ, ma sarhaokokben, ar Cando aben hõe bhoṛaben ma!

Ado kathae, uni koṛa do gaiye tiakkeḍea, ado oṛak seṇe ruar kana. Ado calak calakte miṭṭaṇ bajar atoe ṇamkeṭa, ado ona bajar 'paṛomkate arhõ miṭṭaṇ bajare ṇamkeṭa; adoe menkeṭa, Akhira in calakgea, neṭerege um baṛakate joḷ pankoh jom baṛawanrege. Ado miṭṭaṇ pukhriye ṇamkeṭa, adoe menkeṭa, Niā pukhriyege um baṛakateñ jom baṛawanrege. Ado ona pukhriyegye um baṛayena.

Ado ona pukhriyege pharak seṇre miṭṭaṇ maejiu do kicriće soḡboṭ kan tahēkana. Ado uni koṛa doe menkeṭa, Nui aiṃai do oho jañiće pohomiña. Ado kathae, onka menkate uni koṛa do um rakap̄kate gai ṭhen senkateye metae kana, De ayo, palaṭ emañme. Ado kathae, kicriće ulawadea, adoe deṅga baṛayena, ado khub maraṇ bhodro hoṛ lekae ṇelena. Ado onakate ṭhari baṭiye koekedeā, 'ado ina hõe emadea; arhõ piṭṭa tabenkoe koekedeā, ado oha hõe ulawadea. Adoe jom baṛakeṭ khane metadea, E ayo, ma noa ṭhari baṭiko do baekakme. Ado kathae, onako do arhõ uni gaiyegye uṭkeṭa.

Ar uni aiṃai do tan man onakoe ṇeṇel kana, ado hare phare seṇ goṭente uni aiṃai do ac hereltete laiadea bañma, Miṭṭaṇ birana hoṛren gaiyiñ ṇelkedeā, onkan gai do tis hõ bañ ṇel akatkoa.

¹¹ Chando is the Santal name for the sun and also for the moon, in the last case generally, or, if necessary, with *ṇinda*, i. e. 'night' put before. In the course of time, but so far as it is possible to ascertain now, not very long ago, the Supreme Being, called *Ṭhakur* by the old *gurus*, has been to a certain extent identified with the sun. Chando here means the Supreme Being. It might be noted that some missionaries for some time used Chando as their name in Santali for the Christian God. This shows how Santals may be understood to use the word.

do it privately, and if people try to persuade you, you must not on any account give them anything."

"Very well", the boy said, "since you have given me this blessing, it is an exceedingly great luck for me; may praise be yours, and may Chando¹¹ also bless you two."

Thereupon the boy led the cow away and started for his home. As he walked along, he came to a bazar town¹², and having passed through this he came to another bazar; then he said: "Afterwards I shall go further; let me first have a bath and get some refreshments somewhere here." So he found a tank¹³ and said: "Here in this tank I shall take a bath and afterwards take some food." Thereupon he bathed in the tank.

Now a woman was washing clothes in the same tank some distance off, and the boy said to himself: "This woman will likely not be able to see me clearly." So, having come up from his bath, he went to the cow and spoke to her: "Please, mother, give me a change of clothes." She brought clothes out for him. He put the loin-cloth on, and now he looked like a very fine gentleman. Thereupon he asked the cow for brass plates and cups, and she gave him that also. Then he asked her for cakes and taben¹⁴, and this also she brought forth for him. When he had had his food, he said to her: "Please, mother, put these plates and cups away." And the cow, people tell, swallowed those again.

The woman was looking at as much as she could, and hurrying away, she went to her husband and told him, saying: "I have seen a cow belonging to a stranger; cows like her I have never in my life seen. The man bathed in the tank; then he asked the

¹² People live in villages; when these are large, with shops and the like, they become bazars or towns. The name presupposes that it is not a Santal village but a Hindu or other town.

¹³ See p. 84, note 5.

¹⁴ See p. 4, note 5.

Uni hōr dō pukhrireye umena, adō uni gaige palāṭe kōekedea, arhō thārī baṭiye kōekedea, ona hōe emadea; arhō piṭha tabene kōekedea, inā hōe emadea. Arhōe metadea, Ma baekam; adō arhō uni gaige ona dōe utketa. Adōn metam kana, ma nui gāi dō jāhā lekatelañ eṛeyea.

Adō uni herel hōr dō bae paṭiauk kan tahēkana, mēnkhan uni aīmai dō aḍiye jidketa. Khange adō uni herele mēnketa, Acha, bhalañ biḍaulege, adō eṇḍe anañ in paṭiauka, ar bañkhan qhogeñ paṭiaulena.

Adō uni hōrkin hōhō agukedea, adōkin metae kana, Iā ho peṛa, okatem calaka? Teheñ dō nonḍe ale ṭhenge gitieme; gapa dō aḍire beretkatem calaka. Am jom hūi laḡit dō alele emama, ar nui gāi jom laḡit ghās hōle emama.

Adō uniye mēneta, Baña, in dō bañ gitiā am ṭhen dō.

Adō banar haṛam buḍhite aḍikin jidketa, adō aḡin oraḡtekin idikedea, ar mittāñ mela oraḡ gitiē laḡitkin araḡadea. Adō jom hū reaṅko kuli barakedea, adōe mēnketa, Bañ joma, nitgeñ jom baṛa akata. Ar se uni koṛa dōe mēneta, Sanam hōr in jāpiṭ ocoakoa, adō unre nāhāk jom laḡit dō nui gaigeñ kōeyea. Adō onka mēnkate onko ṭhen daka jom dō bae rebenlena.

Khange unkin ona oraḡren haṛam buḍhi dō nonka mēnkate kaphariāukin ehoḡketa: uni herele mēnketa, Bhala eṛe eṛelañ kaphariāua, adō nāhāk in dō usaṭ in oḍok calaka, adō jāhā seṇreñ tāṛākkoka; adō bhalañ ṇelea cetkoe kōeyea, adō saṛi kana mēnkhan dolañ eṛeyea.

Adō onka galmaraokate aḡin haṛam buḍhi kaphariāukin ehoḡketa, adō aḍi baṛiē cetko coñ utkā paṭkakin kaphariāuena. Adō khange uni herel hōr dōe usaṭ goṭena; adōe mēn oṭokak kana, Ma ape baṛe tahēkokpe, in dō bañ tahēna ape ṭhen dō. Adō onka mēnkate uni hōr dōe oḍok calaoena. Adō arhō oka seṇte coñ ruṛaṛ heḡkate uni hōr dō uni koṛae ḍera akan tahēkan oraḡ coṭre

¹⁵ The thing meant is a contrivance to be used with bullock-carts. It is a wooden frame with four uprights, the 'walls' being made from some kind of rough rope or twigs or the like.

cow for a change of clothes; brass plates and cups he also asked her for. That she also gave him. Again he asked her for cakes and taben; this she also gave him. Again he said to her: Please, put it away, and then the cow swallowed the things. I tell you this, somehow or other we must cheat him for this cow."

The man, her husband, did not believe this story; but as the woman persisted, her husband said: "All right, I shall put it to the test; then only I shall believe this; otherwise I shall certainly not believe it."

They thereupon called the man and said to him: "I say, my friend, where are you going? Stay the night here with us to-day; then you may get up and go away to-morrow, early in the morning. We shall give you food and drink, and we shall also give you straw for your cow."

"No," he replied, "I shall not stay the night with you."

But both husband and wife were very persistent, and finally took him to their home and let him have an empty house to sleep in. They asked him about food; but he said: "I shall not have any food, I have just had." The boy was thinking: "I shall let all people go to sleep; then I shall presently ask this cow for something to eat." Having this in his mind, he was unwilling to take food with these people.

Then the husband and wife living in that house commenced to quarrel in the following way: the husband said: "I say, let us pretend to quarrel; so I shall go out sulky and lie in wait somewhere; then I shall see what he asks her for, and if it is true, we shall cheat him for that cow."

Having talked together in this way, husband and wife commenced to quarrel; they quarrelled something awful, raking up old and forgotten matters. The husband then suddenly commenced to sulk and said: "Well, you stay on, I am not going to stay with you." Saying this, he went out. Some time afterwards, the man returned by another way — now there was under the roof in the house where the boy was staying a manuring basket¹⁵ —

mittaṅ gurić caklaoak duli tahḡkana. Ado oka sente cœ deçente ona duli cetanreye gitić akana; uni koṛa hõ bae diṣa rakaṣ-ledea.

Ado khangē mit ḡḡari tayom khan uni aimai doe nam barayedeā, ado uni koṛa ṭhene calaoena; adoe metae kana, Henda baḡbu, pase nonḡe am ṭhene heć akan?

Ado uni koṛae menketa, Okorić? Nonḡe do bae heć akana. Ado uni koṛae menketa, Ceka baṛalenaben?

Ado uniye menketa, Cetko cōliṅ joṛo baṛawana. Ado nelme se, okate cœ oḡok calaoen; in doṅ meneta, pase nonḡe am ṭhene heć akan.

Ado uni koṛae menketa, Baṅ, nonḡe do bae heć akana; hećlen khan doṅ laiḡkema. Ado enka menkate uni maejiu hõ ruṛena.

Ado khangē uni koṛa doe gitićena. Ado sać suć sanam hoṛko thir cabayene atḡarketḡo khan doe menketa, Nit do sanam hoṛko japiṭketa, oḡo janićko diṣaṅa, jomak in koeanrege. Ado saṛi onka menkate uni koṛa do ḡai ṭhen jomake khoḡkedeā, ar emadete jom nũ baṛakate arhõe bae ocokedeā, are gitićenteye japiṭketa.

Ar uni tāṛāk hoṛ do onako tan mane nelkede khane menketa, Baṅa, oka kaṭhae laiadiṅ, ona do saṛi kangea. Nui ḡai do phoṛ phundikateliṅ hataoetaegea. Ado khub japiṭ akate aikaukede khane aṛḡoyente uni ḡai doe raṛa idikedetaea, ar uni ḡai muṭṭaṅ lekanićge aćren ḡai aḡukate uniye tollede ṭhene toḡkadea, ar uniren ḡai do aćren ḡai ṭhene ader mitkadea.

Ado dosar hilok aṅḡayen khan, uni koṛa doe beretena, ado ḡaiye raṛakedeteye tiḡe kana. Ado kaṭhae, uni ḡai do bae calak kana. Ado uni koṛae menketa, Iḡ ho peṛa hoṛ, ḡai dope boḡo-ladiṅa; nui ḡai doe baṅ kana inren do.

Adoko metae kana, Baṅ, uni ḡai kantamgeae. Eṇḡeḡe holam tolledeā, ar amge teheṅ hõ raṛakatem tiḡak oḡokkedeā. Cedak onka doṃ pharebetlea? Ma bhala noko ato hoṛ kulikom, nenkan

¹⁶ See p. 46, note 7.

and having mounted up there somehow, he was lying on the top of that basket. The boy was not aware of his mounting up there.

A short while afterwards the woman came looking for her husband; she came to the boy and said to him: "I say, my lad, perhaps he¹⁶ has come here to you?"

"Why, no," the boy replied, "he has not come here. What happened to you two?" he asked.

"Oh," the woman said, "we had some disagreement. Then, you see, he went out somewhere; I am wondering, perhaps he has come here."

"No," the boy replied, "he has not come here; if he had come, I should tell you." After this had been said, the woman went back again.

Thereupon the boy lay down; when he felt that all were resting and all was quiet as the grave, he said: "Now all people have gone to sleep; no one will be likely to be aware of what I do; let me ask for food." Saying this the boy asked the cow for food, and when she had given him and he had eaten, he let her put all away, whereupon he lay down and slept.

When the man who was lying in wait had been looking all he could at this, he said: "No, what she told me, that is the truth. We shall get possession of this cow by some stratagem or other." When he understood that the boy was soundly asleep, he came down, unbound the cow and took her away; thereupon he brought one of his own cows, looking just like the other cow, and tied her where the boy had tied his, and so he took the boy's cow in among his own cows.

When it dawned next morning, the boy got up, unbound the cow and commenced to lead her along; but the cow would not go. The boy then said: "Look here, my friend, you have changed cows with me. This cow is not mine."

"No," they answered him, "the cow is yours. You tied her there yesterday, and you have also yourself unbound her and led her out to-day. Why are you making such false charges

gaige holako n̄el agu akatmea. Ado cekatem meneta, nui gai doe ban kantiha mente?

Ado uni korae menketa, Inren gai do tiak hewa gai kanae; nun din in do gotan tiak barayede kana, ar nui gai do tiakte bae calak kana; are ban kantiha nui gai do, ohon idilea.

Adoko menketa, Bam idiye khanle cekamea?

Ado uni korae menketa, Acha, noa reanbon bicarlege.

Adoko menketa, Acha, do agukom.

Ado ona atoren mostajir ar atoren hore riaw aguketkoa. Ado uni hor do tinre con uni mostajir ar ato hor doe ran gotketkoa; uni mostajir hor mit sae takae gokadea ar onko ato hor mit saeye gokatkoa, are metatkoa sanam hor, In sen bare rorpe ar iniye tol akade gai bare digriaepe.

Ado onko dos jona ho uniak takako jomkettae khan, uni sen leakageko rorketa, ar uniye bodol akawade gaigeko digriadea. Ado uni korae menketa, Ia baba moro hor, noa bicarre do ban khusi-lena; hape, uni okoe hor then gaiyin nam akade, uni hor in agulege; ado okotak gaiye em akawadin, unigeye badaea. Nui gaigeye metañ khan do, nuigen idiyea; ado hape, uni hor in agulege.

Adoko metadea, Acha, do aguyem.

Adoe metatkoa, Ma endekhan gai do ape jimagen bagiae kana.

Adoko metadea, Acha, do calakme, gai do ohoe cekaktama.

Ado khangeye calaoena, ar unkin toyo do, kathae, cekakote cokin badae gotketa, uni gai doe ere ocoyena mente. Ado uni korae sen tiokketkin khangekin kuli gotkede, Cele ya manwa, gai do en kathae yem ere ocoyena?

¹⁷ & ¹⁸ In the first instance the village authorities are appealed to. Also Hindu villages have a kind of headman or leading man.

¹⁹ Now-a-days the Five are frequently called the Ten, (dos, the ten persons) always using the Bengali word. When speaking of the Five, both Santali — so most commonly — and Bengali are used; but if the Santali word for 'ten' is used, it does not mean anything else than the number.

against us? Well, ask the people of this village whether they have seen such a cow of yours yesterday. How can you then say that this cow is not your cow?"

"My cow," the boy said, "is a cow accustomed to be led; so long a time I have been leading my cow everywhere; but this cow will not be led. She is not my cow this one; I am not taking her away."

"If you don't take her away, what can we do with you?" they said.

"Very well," the boy replied, "we shall first let people judge in this matter."

"All right," they said, "do bring judges."

The boy then called the headman of the village¹⁷ and the village people¹⁸. The other man in the meantime had found an opportunity of bribing the headman and the village people. He promised the headman one hundred rupees, and the village people one hundred, and said to them: "Speak on my side and decree him the cow he has tied there."

As the Ten¹⁹ had taken his money, they spoke on his side, and decreed the exchanged cow to belong to the boy. The boy then said: "Well, respected Five, I am not satisfied with this judgment; please wait, let me first bring the person from whom I have got the cow. He knows which cow he has given me. If he tells me it is this cow, I shall take her away. Wait then, let me bring that person first."

"Very well," they said, "bring him."

"Then I leave this cow in your charge," he said to them.

"All right," they replied, "do go; nothing shall happen to your cow."

The boy then went. Now the two jackals somehow or other had got to know that he had been cheated out of the cow, and when the boy reached them, they at once asked him: "Well, you man, they tell you have been cheated out of the cow?"

Ado menketa, Hē baba, sarigen ere ocoyena.

Adokin metadea, Tobe cet lagitem hec akana?

Ado menketa, Aben ikdigen hec akana; delabon bicara.

Ado unkinkin menketa, Onđen ato hor ar manjhi do bam sapletkoa?

Ado menketa, Sap jarwaletkogeān, menkhan uni sen lekage sanam horko rorkette in do ban khusilena, ado onateh hec akawatbena. Ado delabon bicarkate gai delaoanben.

Adokin menketa, Acha, delabon.

Adoko calaoena; ado senkate ekkalte uni mostajir manjhiko sapkadea, adoko metadea, banma, Noa atore aleren gai bodolte dosra gaiko em akawatlea. Ma ado ato hor jarwakate uni hor sapaleme, adobon galmaraoa, ar bankhan am upartele lalisa.

Ado khangē uni manjhiye lolō gotente goḍete kolkadea ato hor lalai, ar uni kombro hor hōko laiadea. Khangē ado mitṭaṇ hesak butareko jarwayena. Ado onko toyoteko hōko calaoena, ado satraṅgi bichanakin atetketa unkin toyo do, ado onare durupkate pankin jojom kana. Ado sanam horko thir bara akana, okoe hō cet hō bako roreta.

Ado uni toyo andiai meneta, Okoe ghush jomkateye bicara, tobe uniren bōs do eae pustī dhābić ićko jomtaea noa purire hō ar hana purire hō. Ar judi ona ghusak mōrē hor samañre khulaukateye lai sōḍorketa menkhan, tobe ona bidhi do ban lagaoaea. Nonka leka mare hapramkoko ror akata. Ar jāhāeak jinis haunḍikate jāhāeye hataoa, uni do norok kūṇḍreye ḍubauka. Noa hōko ror akata. Ado bhala aboge mōrē hor, noa katha ḍariap

²⁰ The jackal is acting in proper pleader style.

²¹ See p. 20, note 2.

²² *Ficus religiosa*, L.

²³ For important people a fine cloth is spread to sit on. What is here mentioned, is a kind of rug with stripes of different colours. It is scarcely ever found with the Santals, but used by the better class of Hindus.

²⁴ Betel nut, commonly chewed by the Hindus, sometimes also by Santals at the present day.

"Yes, father," he replied, "I have really been cheated."

"What have you come for then?" they asked him.

"I have come," he answered, "to take you along with me. Come, we shall judge the case."

"Did you not apply to the village people and the headman there?" they asked him.

"I applied to them and brought them together," he replied: "but as they all spoke on his side, I was not satisfied, and therefore I have come to you. Please come and judge and help me to get the cow."

"All right," they said, "come along."

So they went; having arrived there, they at once took hold of the headman and spoke to him: "Here in this village they have given us²⁰ another cow instead of our own. Please gather the village people and bring the man to us: then we shall talk the matter over; otherwise we shall bring a suit against you."

The headman then took the matter up at once and sent the godet²¹ to tell the village people; the thief he also called. They assembled at the foot of a pipol²² tree. The jackal-party also went there, and the two jackals spread out a many-coloured durrie²³, and sitting down on this, they were eating pan²⁴. All present were quiet; no one said anything.

Then the jackal said: "He who passes judgement after having taken a bribe, his descendants shall for seven generations eat his stools both in this world and in the next. But if he gives information about the bribe before the Five and tells everything, then this fate will not befall him. So the ancestors have told. And if anybody by oppression takes anybody else's property, then that person will be immersed in hell's dung²⁵. This they have also told. Now we are the Five, the judges; investigate this matter properly and speak. Let us judge righteously before

²⁵ The idea is a place in the nether-world filled with dung. Here those who have committed certain sins are immersed.

thikkate rortabonpe. Cando samahre dhōrōmgebon bicāra, ar unkin bādi ar protibādi hō dhōrōmkin rōr ma. Oka hīke kan, onagebon bicāra. Ma rortabonpe.

Ado uni mañjhiye menketa, Noa katha dō sari kangea, baba; in dō nui kombro hōr mit sae takae em akawadiña are metadiña, In sen leka bare rōrme, onate noa bicar dō bale phaṇḍaoleta.

Khange ato hōr hōko menketa, Hē, baba, sarige ale hō mit sae takae em akawaflea, onate bicar dō oka hō bale goṭaleta.

Ado uni toyoe menketa, Ote, baba mōrē hōr, añjompe se, katha dō sōdoren dō. Ma bhala, am protibādi hōr, cetem meneta?

Ado uniye menketa, Baña baba, ini gai kangetaeyae, in dō bañ hatao akadetaea.

Ado uni toyoe menketa, Pase noa katha sabudlen khan, cetem emōka?

Ado uni hōre menketa, Sabudena menkhan, dobra sajaiyin emōka.

Ado toyoe menketa, Ma añjom dōhokape, baba ape mōrē hōr, ar katha hō bujhautabonpe. Nui hōr dō ac̣tegeye ḍaṇḍomok kana. Judi bae hatao akade khan, cedaḳ ghus dōe em akawafkoa? Nui dō maraṇ ḍakuren ses kanae. Nēlpe, hatao akade tuluc̣ bae goḍaoeta. Ar ape dō nui hōr gai aguye jōkheḍ janiḍpe nēl akadetaegee, ar aliñ dō baliñ nēl, akadetaea? Ar delabon nāhāk, gai paltebon calaka; ekkalte uni gaigeliñ udugea se bañ nāhāk, na hōṇeḍ in dō bañ udugea, nui in bāhugeye udugea, onare biswas nēl-taliñpe.

Khangeko menketa, Acha delabon, bhala onagebon nēllege.

Ado sari gai palteko calaoena; oḱoṭaḳ kane nuiren gai, unige ekkalteye uduḳ goṭkedeae. Ado mañjhi ar ato hōrteko kulikedeae, Cele bābu, nui gai kangetamae?

²⁶ See p. 68, note 11. The Supreme Being is believed to be the final judge.

²⁷ One is here reminded of the proceedings of a regular court. Some expressions used here and also further down are taken from the court language.

Chando²⁶, and the accused and the complainant²⁷ let them also speak righteously. What is right, that we shall decide. Please now, speak up."

Then the headman said: "That is a true word, sir; this thief has given me one hundred rupees and said to me: "Please speak on my side;" therefore we did not settle this matter."

Then the village people also said: "Yes, sir, in truth, he has also given us one hundred rupees; therefore we did not come to any decision in connexion with this matter."

"Listen," the jackal said, "do you hear, respected Five; please listen, the whole has been disclosed. Now you defendant, what have you to say?"

"No, sirs," the man answered, "this is his; I have not taken his cow."

"If by any chance," the jackal then said, "this case is proved, what will you give?"

"If it be proved against me," the man answered, "I shall pay double."

"Please remember this," the jackal said, "keep it in mind, respected Five; also understand what he says. This man is being fined by himself. If he has not taken the cow, why has he given bribes to these people? This man is the limit, the very worst type of a robber. Mark this, although he has taken the cow, he does not confess. And you have likely seen his cow when he was bringing it, and we two, have not we seen her? Please come then, let us go to the cow-herd; we shall at once point out the cow, you will see presently. If I should fail in doing so, this wife of mine will point her out. Thereby see our reliability."

"Very well," they said, "come along; let us have a look round first."

They then went to the cow-herd, and the jackal at once pointed out the cow that belonged to the boy. The headman and village people then asked him: "Well, my lad, is this your cow?"

Ado uni korae menketae, Hē, baba, nui kangeae.

Ado ona katha nelkate onko hōr dō ađi bařicko haharayena arko menketa, Baňa, noa bicar dō sari kangea, ar baňkhan nukin toyo jat abo pharsi dō ohokin rořlea. Ar nelpe, nukin dokin oka disomren kan coň, nui gai dō cekatekin nel oromkedeade? Ado khangē uni hōrko kulikedeade, Cele phalna, sarige nui gai dom hataoleadea se baň?

Ado khangēye tirupena, ceť hō bae rořleta. Khangē ađi bařicko rořkede khane kabulketa. Adoko metadea, Cele nit dō horem manaoketa se baň?

Adoē menketa, Hē, manaoketgeaň.

Ado khangē toyoe menketa, Ado de bhala abo mōřē hōr, ado tinakbon đandōmede kana?

Ado onko mōřē hōrko menketa, De amge rořtabonme.

Ado uni toyoe menketa, Tinať babon đandōme? Onē enanre acētegeye roř akat, Judi noa katha sabudena menkhan, doبرا sajaiyiň emōka. Nonka ac mocategeye roř akata se baň?

Ado onko mōřē hōrko menketa, Hē, noa katha dole aňjom akatgea.

Ado onage tho, baba. Den nitok dō doبرا sajaiye emōk ma; ape ato hōr miť sae, ar maňjhi hōr miť sae, ar nui gai reak bar sae; ado jotore pon sae hoyok kana. Ado pon sae reak doبرا, iral saeye emōk ma, ar baňkhan ohon bataolea. Judi baň huteť sabudlen khan, ac hō coň doبراe hataoke. Ado den nitok dō iral sae emōkme.

Ado sari jotokoteko ruhetkedete iral sae takako em ocokedeade. Ado ona taka dō onko mōřē hōrge joto takae ematkoa, ar uni gai kisar kořa dō gel takae emadea, ar uni toyo dō ceť hō bae hataoleta. Ado ini gaiko tiakkedete onko doko calaoena; ado inā bajar paromkatekin metadea, Men ado nonka hōr samaňre dō jāhānak alom koeyea, baňkhan arhōko eremea. Ado unkin toyo dō akin oraktekin calaoena, ar uni kořa hō ac orak mohnda sene calaoena.

"Yes, sirs," the boy replied, "this one it is."

When they saw this, the people were very much astonished and said: "Surely, this is the true judgement; otherwise, these two jackals would not have spoken our language. And mark this, how did these two, who are from who knows which country, recognize the cow?" They then asked the man: "I say, so and so, did you really take this cow or not?"

He sat there with bowed head and did not say a word; when they had given him an awful scolding, he at last confessed. Then they asked him: "Well, did you respect the way or not now?"

"I did so," he replied.

Then the jackal said: "Well, now then, we the Five, how much are we fining him?"

"Please," the Five said, "you speak for us."

The jackal then said: "Why, how much should we fine him? A while ago he himself has spoken: If this case be proved against me, I shall pay double. He has spoken in this way with his own mouth, is it not so?"

The Five then said: "Yes, we have heard that said."

"Just so, sirs. Now then let him give double punishment: You village people one hundred, and the headman one hundred; and for this cow two hundred; that is in all four hundred rupees. Let him so give the double of four hundred, that is eight hundred; otherwise I shall not heed you. If the case had not been proved, he would, of course, himself have taken double. So now then, out with eight hundred rupees."

As they all scolded him, they made him give eight hundred rupees. This money he all gave to the Five, and to the boy, the cow's owner, he gave ten rupees; but the jackal did not take anything. The boy and the jackals led the proper cow away and went along. When they had passed the bazar, the two said to the boy: "Be careful, don't ask her for anything in that way when others are present; otherwise people will cheat you again." The pair of jackals then went home, and the boy also started going towards his home.

Ado kathae, calak calakte uni koṛa dō arhō miṭṭan bajar atoe tiokketa, adō ona bajar ṭhenge ber hōe ḥasurok kana. Ado ona bajar hana sare miṭṭan maraṇ utaṛ ul bagwan tahēkana, ar ona bagwanre dō haṭ hō hoyoka, ar oṇḍege aḍi utaṛ bepari gaḍwanko ḍera akan tahēkana. Ado uni koṛa hōe menketa, In hō noa bagwanregeṇ ḍeraka, adō gapa setakre beretkate oṛak sen in calaka. Ado kathae, onko gaḍwanko ḍera akan hana sare onko khon tophat ṇōkre miṭṭan dare buṭare aḍ hōe duṛupena, ar uni gai hō ona dare reḥetreye tolkadea.

Ado ina miṭ ghaṛi khangē, kathae, maraṇ utaṛ hoedake unaḥuketa, goṭa, kathae, nūt cabayena; ar ina miṭ ghaṛi khangē hoedak heḡ goṭena ar bogeteye daket kana. Ar onko gaḍwan dō, kathae, joṭore miṭ hajar ganko tahēkana; ar ona hoedak jokhen dō akoak gaḍi latarkoreko boḷo akana. Ar uni koṛa dō, kathae, hoedak heḡen khan dō uni gaige ṭambui koekedete onae beretketa, ar ona bhitrire bana hoṛkin boḷo akana; ar miṭ nindai dakketa setak dḥabiḍ.

Khangē onko gaḍwan doko meneta, Durre! hola ma cet hō baṇ tahēkantaē; adō okare noa ṭambu dōe ṇamketa? Dhora nui gai khonge noa dōe ṇam akata.

Ado kathae, aṅga marsalen khan, uni koṛa hōe as basaoena, adoe meneta, Nit nāhāk noa ṭambuṇ bae ocōye khan dō hoṛko ṇeleṇa. Pāhil feka baṅkhan arhō gaiko eṛe botēkina; teheṇ dō neṇḍegeṇ tahena; ayup ocoak, adō unre nāhāk in bae ocōyea, adō gapa dō sim rakre neṇḍe khon in ḍara.

Ado kathae, goṭa siṇe tahē ayupena. Ado ninda khangē, kathae, ona ṭambu dōe bae ocokedea. Ado uni korae japitket jokhenge onko gaḍwan doko heḡ goṭena, adō miṭṭan dhīṛu gai uni ṭhenko tol oṭokadea, ar ako dō uniren gaiko idikedetaea. Ado setak

²⁸ In the hot season, the eastern parts of India are very often visited by what is called Nor'westers, sudden and violent thunderstorms. Such a one is meant here.

²⁹ It often does not take so very many to make a thousand.

³⁰ The whole is a good description, so far as it goes. The heavy bullock-carts afford some protection.

As he was passing along, they tell, the boy reached another bazar, and there at this bazar the sun set for him. On the other side of this bazar there was a very large grove of mango trees; in that grove they also had a market, and a very large number of traders with their carts had camped there. Then the boy said to himself: "I shall also camp in this grove; then to-morrow morning I shall get up and start for home." So he himself sat down on the other side of where the carters had camped, some little distance away from them at the foot of a tree; and he also tied his cow to the roots of the same tree.

A short while afterwards the weather became very threatening, a thunder-storm was brewing, it became black all over²⁸. A few moments more, and the storm burst, and it rained very heavily. The carters were about one thousand²⁹ in number, and during the storm they had crept in³⁰ under their carts. But when the storm came, the boy asked his cow for a tent and put that up, where-upon both of them entered the tent. It rained the whole night incessantly until morning.

Then those carters said: "Strange, yesterday he had nothing; where has he got the tent? Undoubtedly he has got it from this cow of his."

When it became morning, the boy became very perplexed what to do, and said to himself: "Now if I let her put this tent away, people will see me. Then they will try to cheat me out of the cow again, like the first time; I shall remain here to-day, let it become evening, and then I shall let her put it away, and to-morrow at cock-crow I shall run away from here."

So he remained the whole day until evening, and when it became night, they tell, he let her put it away. When the boy had fallen asleep, the carters came, tied a cow in milk³¹ near him and came away; they took the boy's cow with them. When it

³¹ A cow in milk means with a Santal always a cow with her calf. They have the idea that a cow will not give milk unless she has her calf to look at or lick during the milking operation.

khange uni kora dōe bhabnak kana, are metako kana onko gadwan dō, Dini uni gai dō emkaetiñpe.

Adoko metae kana, Cele gai ale dōm khojetlea? Uni cōñ gai ma am ðenge menae; aleren ma ekenko ðangra kange. Ar se uni gai dō idikate ona gōrē bostako agu jarwakette uni gai berhaeteko cake acurketa, uni gai doko ad esetkede. Arko metae kana, Ukurić amren gai dō? Ma ente ale ðhen menae khan, do nameme.

Ado uni korae meneta, Bañ; inren gai dō ape ðenge menaea.

Adoko metae kana, Uni cōñ gai ma am ðengem tol akade. Ado cele gaiyem nam kana?

Ado uniye meneta, Nui gai dō bañ kana inren dō. Inren dōe ðhāt gai kana, ar nui ma mihū menaetae.

Adoko metae kana, Pase teheñ nindageye busakentam. Ado onako kathage għari għariko ropor kana.

Ado uni korae menketa, Noko gadwan dō nāhākko ereyiña. Okoe tora atoren mañjhiñ laiaea. Adoe calaoente mañjhi ar caukidare aguketkina, adoe metatkina, Iq baba, inren mittan 'gaiye tahēkantiña, ar noa dare butareñ gitić kan tahēkana. Uni gai dō nui caukidar hōe hēlledetiñgea. Ado ninda jokhen nokoge inren gai doko atkirkedetiña.

Ado uni caukidare menketa, Hē sarige, in hō gai dōñ hēl-ledegea.

Ado onko gadwanko menketa, Besge ente gaiyem hēlledea; uni cōñ gai ma menaetae.

Ado uni korae menketa, Baña, inren dōe ðhāt gai kana, mihū dō banugića.

Ado mañjhiye menketa, Ma nui gai bare idiyem; amren dō ðhāt gaiye tahēkana, ado mihūanić gaiyem nawana; ado cet barić? Bhage akange com.

Ado uni korae menketa, Bañ, in dō inren gageñ hataoea; nui gai dō bañ hataoea.

became morning, the boy was in great sorrow and said to the carters: "Come with her, give me back my cow."

"Which cow are you demanding from us?" they replied; "why, there you have your own cow with you; we have only bullocks with us." Now the carters had taken the cow, collected a lot of gunny bags and piled these up round the cow, and they had, in this way, hidden her. "Why, where is your cow here? If she is with us, do find her by all means."

"No," the boy said, "my cow is with you."

"There she is," they replied, "you have tied your cow there with you. Which cow are you then looking for?"

"This one is not my cow," the boy said; "my cow is a barren cow, and this one has a calf."

"Perhaps," they said, "perhaps she has given birth to a calf to-night?" Again and again they were quarrelling using the same words.

Then the boy said: "These carters will cheat me presently. I shall go and tell the village-headman this instant." Consequently he went and brought the headman and the watchman³² and said to them: "Please, sir, I had a cow, and I passed the night here at the foot of this tree. This watchman also saw the cow. Then, during the night, these people have stolen my cow away."

"Yes," the watchman said, "I myself also really saw the cow."

The carters then said: "Very well then; you saw the cow; his cow, why, he has got her there."

"No, not at all," the boy said; "my cow is a barren one; she has no calf."

The headman then said: "Please, take this cow with you; your cow was a barren one, and now you have got a cow with a calf. What bad is there in that? Why, you are very fortunate."

"No," the boy replied, "I will take my cow; this cow I shall not take."

Ado onko gaḍwanko menkeṭa, Ma ente nāmepe ale then menae khan; ale ma oraḱ duar hō banukṭale; oraḱ taheṇ khanpe menkeā, Okare cope oko akade. Nēkē tho songerege ale dō joto menakṭalea.

Ado sari goṭako nel barakedeā, ado bako namledete maṇjhiye menkeṭa, Cele baḅu, cetem meneta? Gai nāmea mentem aḡuleṭliṇa, ado nōkōe aliṇ caukidarteliṇ hotete dō baṇliṇ namledetama. Ado amge dē cetem meneta?

Ado uni koṛae menkeṭa, Iṭa baba maṇjhi ar caukidar, aben maujare iṇren dō gaiye aṭ akana, ar iṇ dō noko gaḍwanreṇ subhā akatkoa. Metaben kanaṇ, noko gaḍwan dō rahḍani hataṛkobēn, ar nui dhīrū gai dō aben ḷjimaṛe dōho hataṛben. Iṇ dō noko ḥutumteṇ lālisa, ar judiben seṇ ocoketkoa menkhan, aben uparteṇ lālisa.

Ado uni maṇjhi ar caukidar gaḍwankin metakkoa, Cele ho gaḍwan, cetpe meneta? Nui koṛa dō ape uparte lālise menet dō.

Khange onko gaḍwanko menkeṭa, Do ona dō khaṭirjomae metak ma; arhō judi khōrcako baṇ kulauḱ kantae khan, alele emaea.

Ado maṇjhiye menkeṭa, Men ado inā kathage tho; aīka noa bicar auri nisputik dhābiḱ nonḍe khon oḡoliṇ seṇ ocolepea. Ar judi noa katha nōkōe aṇjom torape uṭḥauena menkhan, khaṭi apegepe sabokā.

Ado onkoko menkeṭa, Acha, oḡole calakā; calaoenale menkhan, alege hajotrele bolōka. Ado onka galmaraokateko apan apinena.

Ado uniren gai dō unkin jimaṛeye baḡiadete uni koṛa dō ḥakim then laklise calaoena. Ado mittāṇ Muslā Badsa ḥakime tahēkana; ado uni thene lāliskeṭa. Ado kathae, turātge parwana oḡok goṭena. Ar uni ḥakim dō, kathae bhaleye tahēkana, oḡoek hō bēhok dō bae bicareṭ tahēkana, ṭhik ṭhike bicareṭ tahēkana, ghus

³³ The introduction of a Mohammedan judge does not make it probable that this story has been borrowed from Mohammedan sources. The law court, as described, is a somewhat misdrawn picture of a modern court, such as Santal imagination may like to think it. A Santal knows, of course, very little of the inner workings

"Please find her then," the carters said, "if she is with us. We have no house or hut either. If we had houses, you might say: you have hidden her somewhere. Look at us, why, we have all we have with us here."

Then they looked for the cow everywhere; but as they could not find her, the headman said: "Well, my lad, what do you say? You brought us to find your cow; and now you see, myself and the watchman being present did not help, we could not find her. What have you then to say?"

"I say, father headman and watchman, in your village my cow has been lost, and I am suspecting these carters. Now I say this to you two: keep these carters here in the meantime, and also keep this cow with calf in your charge for the present. I am going to bring a suit against these people, and if you let them go away, I shall bring a suit against you."

The headman and watchman then said to the carters: "Well, you carters, what have you to say? This boy is going to bring a suit against you."

"By all means," the carters said, "let him be confident as to that, and if he should not have enough money for the purpose, we shall let him have."

The headman then said: "Take care then that is the case. Mind you, until this case is settled, we shall not let you go away from here. And if you, after having heard this, nevertheless depart, you will certainly be caught."

"All right," they said, "we shall not go at all; if we, in spite of this, should go, we go to jail." After having had this talk, they separated.

Having left the cow in the charge of those two, the boy went to bring a suit before the judge. Now a Mussulman Badsha³³ was judge, and he made his complaint before him. A written order was sent out immediately. This judge was a good man; he did not judge anybody's case unjustly; he was judging rightly and truly; he did not take bribes and was not a respecter of persons.

hō bae jomet tahēkana, ar hōrak mētāhā hēlte dō bae bicāra, mēnkhan jāhā sēnge ān calak, onageye pachaea, bāndoe rēngēc hōr kan, bāndoe kisār hōr kan. Bicar darate jāhāegekin haraok, inigeye sajaiyetko tahēkana. Badi ar protibadi, bana hōr reakge lālise hatao marāna, ēnkhanṭeye bicartakina. Nonka thik bicar karonte uni hākim dō ādi bariče namḍak akan tahēkana — ar bānkhan okoe corpoṭ hākim dō okoege lahateye lālis marān, ini-akgeye sēnaka, ar okoe tayomṭeye lālis, uniak dō aṇjomge bae aṇjomṭaea, ar laha hōr dō thike lai akat sē beṭhike lai akat, uniakgeye sēnataea ar uniak kathategeye puṭi cabakoka; onko dō lelha hākimko metakoa. Mēnkhan nui hākim dō bae onkana; bana hōr kulikate aṅēce dusikoa seye hajotkoa.

Ado uni korae lāliskeṭ khan, inā hōe ataṅketgea, ar onko gaḍwan hōe toloṭketkoa ar unkin maṇjhi'caukidar hōe toloṭketkina, ado joto hōrak ijhare hataoketa. Ar onko gaḍwan dō kiriakateko mēnketa, Ale dō bale hatao akadetaea; judi nuiren gai ale ṭhene ṇamena mēnkhan, gai hōle emkaetaea ar je kichu dhon durib menaktale, onako joto nuigele emaea. Onka ektiari kiriakateko mēnketa.

Ado khangē uni hākim dō doroga pulise metatkoa, Do sēnkate dera tolasipe.

Ado bhāi, onko dō sēnkate onkoak ḍerako tolasiketa, ado ona gōrē bostako cake akat tahēkan, ado onako jotoṭko ocok ocoketko khan dō sari uni gaiṭo ṇamkedeā. Ado uni gaiṭe ar hōrte joto

of a law-court. It may seem strange that a Mohammedan judge should be introduced as here done, when the Santals harbour such feelings as they do towards people of that persuasion. The explanation may be that the present-day Santals have had experiences which they like with Mohammedan judges. These are perhaps less liable to lose themselves in legal technicalities than certain other people, and are appreciated accordingly.

There are several points in this story which seem to make it likely that it has been originally borrowed from outside.

From a certain point of view it is of interest to compare this with the foregoing story. They have both been written by the same man, but at different times, some years lying between the two. The narrator has heard the story from other

Whatever be the law, that he followed, whether it was a poor man or a wealthy person. The one who was defeated according to law, him he punished. Accuser and accused, he listened to what they both had to bring forward; then only he passed judgement. Because he was such a true judge, he had become very famous, — otherwise one who is a corrupt judge will listen to him who comes first with his complaint; one who comes afterwards, him he will not even listen to, and whether the first one has told the truth or he has told what is false, he does what he says, and he permits himself to be filled with his tale, so there is room for nothing else. Such ones people call foolish judges. But this judge was not of that kind; only when he had examined both parties, did he find them guilty or sent them to prison.

When the boy had lodged his complaint, he took it up, and he also summoned the carters and also the headman and watchman, whereupon he recorded the statements of all of them. The carters swore and said: "We have not taken his cow; if his cow be found with us, we shall give him his cow, and whatever property we have, we shall give him all of it." They took their oath and spoke in such a highfalutin way.

The judge then said to the head constable: "Go and search the camp."

The police then went and searched their camping place; now they had piled up the gunny bags, as told, and when they made them take all that away, they found the cow. So they tied the cow and the men and took them all with them. Then

sources than when he first wrote. The last specimen shows more experience and acquaintance with certain sides of life than the first one. Chowkedars were formerly unknown in the Santal country; such were introduced some twenty years ago. This may throw some light on the way in which stories of this kind develop and, most likely quite unconsciously, are adapted to the circumstances of life or the environments of the narrator. Everything is internal evidence of how near the details of these stories lie to Santal life and ideas, when the folktale flight of imagination is deducted.

mit mitteko tol idiketkoa. Ado hakime metatkoa, Nelpe, gai do ape thenge menaea, enre ho ape do bape kabuleta ar nahakgepe ekrarena. Ado de okape menlet, ona puraupе.

Khange ado emok bako reben kante onko gadwan do mit mitte joto hajotketkoa, ar onkoak dhon do mit mitte uni korae digriadea. Gai ar onako dhon do uni korae nawante ac orak sene mohndayena. Gadiko, dangrako ar ona joto dhon uni korage hakime soprot gotadea.

Ado khange uni korā do ac atote, se one engat apatkin tahēkan, ondegеye calaoena. Ado ona disomren hor do okoe ho bako nel oromedeа. Adoko meneta, Okoeak nunak asbab do hecena? Ado khangeye laiatkoa, In don phalna hopon kana. Ado adiko haharayena.

Ado orakko benao barakate mit din do uniye tahēkan raj thene calaoena, ar one engat apatkin goclenre takae rinlet tahēkan, ona takae idi otokatāea. Ado kathae, uni raj ho bae nel oromledea. Ado lai thikade khane disakеdea, are metae kana, Durre! am kanam, phalna?

Ado menketa, He, in kangean. Ado takako em barakate duk suk reakkın kupuliyena.

Ado kathae, sedae sedae apat jokhec reak rajostiye pachakette onae nam ruarketa. Khange uniye tahēkan kisarge, kathae, mitan hoponerae gonadea. Ado eneye tahēyena.

Ar uniye tahēkan rajren eae goten korā hoponko menketa, Ale ho disomte bidesle calaka. Nelepe, nui do gutiye tahēkana, ado disomteye odoklente nunak dhone aguana. Ale hole senlen khan pasele agukatge.

Ado apattet takako koekedete bidesko calaoena. Ado inako joto takako ubla dubla otokat khan, arhoko ruar hecena.

Ado ene cabayena katha do; in marangea.

the judge said: "Now look, the cow is with you; nevertheless you did not confess, and you have purposelessly bound yourselves by a promise. So now carry out what you have said."

As the carters refused to give, he put them all in prison, every one of them, and he decreed that all their property, everything, should be given to the boy. When he had got the cow and all the goods, the boy started homewards. The carts, the bullocks and all the goods the judge gave over to the boy.

Thereupon the boy went to his village, or rather to where his father and mother had been. None in that country recognized him, and the people said: "To whom do all the goods that have come belong?" Then he told them: "I am the son of so and so," and they were very much astonished.

After he had built houses, he one day went to the king with whom he had been, and he took with him the money he had borrowed when his father and mother had died, to pay that. The king did not recognize him either. When he told him who he was, he remembered him and said to him: "Strange, is it you, so and so?"

"Yes, it is I," he said, whereupon he paid him his money, and they enquired of each other how everything was going on with them.

Afterwards he took up and made inquiries regarding his father's kingdom of long long ago, and got that back. And the king who was there gave him his daughter in marriage. So he stayed on there.

The seven sons of the king with whom he formerly stayed said: "We will also go to a foreign country. Look, this one was a servant; then he went to a foreign country and brought so much wealth with him. If we also go, perhaps we might bring something."

So they asked their father for money and went to a foreign country. But when they had squandered all their money, they came back again.

There the story is ended; it is thus much.

7. Toyo reak phorphundi.

Mittan haram hore menketa, Gapa do merom bodabon kotekoa. Ona katha mittan merom boda doe anjomkette buruteye darketeta, ado tarup danderre dhirireye burum akana. Ado tarup doe hecena. Un jokheo merom boda doe menketa, Hum, pak pak! Un jokheo tarup do botorteye darketeta.

Ado mittan toyo doe namkede. Metae kanae, Ia bhagna, tehen do inak orakre cele coe hec akan.

Ado toyo doe menketa, Cet lekani kanae, mamoo?

Adoe menketa, Ia bhagna, keware sobot jariye tol akawana.

Ado toyo doe menketa, Ia mamoo, in do nonkanko do koto kotoh jom hajam akatkoa.

Ado canbol canbolkin jorao mit akana, adokin calak kana. Tiokketakin. Ado merom boda doe tengoyena. Tarup doe menketa, Cetko con enane metadin tahokana. Onka menkate adokin darketeta. Adoe or potakede kana. Ado toyo doe menet kana, Ia mamoo, mare mare maila, mamom chadaokettiina.

Ado mit then tarup ar tarup engakin hopon akatkoa. Unkin do jahā sen jel agukin calaokoka. Ado toyo doe hec godoka, adoe metakoa, Ere dhan dibe na? Coro moro dibe. Ado okako jelkin agu jaorakak, onageko emadege. Ado tarup andia do hecateye menket, Henda ya, unak jellin aguape kana, enhō cekatepe moro-dok kana?

¹ This story is one of the few that Phagu of Dhaka village told the writer. The language is very different from that of the stories written by Sagram. Phagu was more accustomed to the style of the gurus; the language reminds one of that found in the Traditions and Institutions, dictated by Kolean guru. See the Foreword.

² The operation here referred to is one commonly practised by the Santals. The seminal ducts are destroyed by beating with a stone.

³ The words used in Santali are likely meant to remind one of the bleating of a goat. I remember Phagu enjoyed this part very much; he told me at the time that if I could only understand the inner meaning of this, I should have a good laugh. Hum is the word used to make bullocks stay quiet or stop, pak to turn.

7. THE JACKAL'S CRAFTINESS¹.

AN old man said: "To-morrow we shall geld² the he-goats." A he-goat heard this and ran away to the mountains, where he lay down on a rock in a leopard's cave. When the leopard came, the he-goat said: "Wo, back back³." Then the leopard, out of fear, ran away.

Running along, he met a jackal and said to him: "I say, nephew⁴, somebody, who knows who, has come to my house to-day."

"What is he like, uncle?" the jackal asked.

"Well, nephew," the leopard replied, "he has tied washed hemp-fibre to his chin."

"Well, you know, uncle," the jackal said, "such ones I have eaten and digested several."

So they tied their tails together⁵ and went along and reached the place. Then the he-goat stood up, and the leopard said: "He said something, whatever it was, to me a while ago." As he said this, they ran away, and the leopard dragged the jackal along so his skin was rubbed off. Then the jackal says: "I say, uncle, you are removing my old, old dirt⁶, uncle."

Now a pair of leopards had their young ones at a certain place. When the parents went somewhere to bring flesh, the jackal came at once and said to the young ones: "Du da, wirst du nicht den Reis geben? Du mußt augenblicklich etwas geben⁷." So they gave him whatever flesh the parents had brought together. One day the he-leopard coming back said: "Look here, we are bringing you so much flesh, how is it that, nevertheless, you are getting so thin?"

⁴ See p. 26, note 11.

⁵ A safeguard to prevent their being separated.

⁶ A fairly commonly used expression to say that one's skin is being abraded.

⁷ The jackal is speaking Bengali. The moneylenders and shopkeepers always make use of non-Santals to go round and tell debtors to pay.

Adoko mēnket, Tiskore cōn toyoak rinben dharao akattae; din hilokgeye koe idilea.

Adokin tārākēna. Ado miť ghāri khangē toyo dōe hēć gōtēna: Arē dhan dibe na? Cōro mōro dibe. Adōe lagae lagakēdea sē, mittān rehđa bhugakre toyo dōe nīr tapēna. Ar tarup hōe nīr tabok kan tahēkana, adōe riđet gōcēna. Ado toyo dōe metae kana, Ai! bañ hēletmea, oñđem tārāk akana?

Ado lumam thuyakteye panahi akana ar lumam dhutiteye dhutiyēna ar đekeye thayakēdea. Ado hēć ruarkate tarup hopon thene calaoēna. Adōe metako kana, Okoe thenpe tahēna? Apum mañ gōckede.

Tarup ēnga dōe mēnketa, Tōbē am thengele tahēna.

Adoko calaoēna urni birte sendra. Ado onko doko sendraea arko jhōra agukoa, ar toyo dō tārākkoka mēnteye tahēna. Bōtōrte bunum cōtreye đekōka. Ado jelkoko nīr hijuka, adō bōtōrte aćgeye ciđira. Hēćkate tarup ēngatekoko metaea, Okorko, tinākem gōcketkōa?

Adōe metakoa, Sojhetēge bape laga agukoa. Nōkōe nankatēn laga ciđir akatkōa.

Ado tarup ēngae tārākēna, adō toyo ar tarupko jhōra aguia. Ado khangē tarup ēnga dō mittān jele sap gōtkēdea. Ado toyo dōe mēnketa, Cētleka sojhe sojheñ laga aguam kana, onatem gōc gōletkōa. Ado toyo dōe mēnketa, Hapē na, sedae haram in bōngawae lagit. Gēr gerkatae, adō bae bhugak dāreata. Adōe mēnket, Ma na, ma na, gēr bhugakame. Adōe bhugakadea.

⁸ The soil is here and there saline, containing salt. The rains may wash parts of this away, leaving narrow passages.

⁹ The cocoon of the silkworm generally reared by the Santals (*Antheraea mylitta*) has a hard cover and is fairly large. The peons mentioned in note 7 always wear some kind of heavy shoes. The cocoon-shoes are supposed to remind one of the noise made by these peons when coming.

¹⁰ A very common phenomenon always observed by the Santals; fear will cause it.

¹¹ The jackal makes use of a pretext to secure for himself what is considered the most savoury part. He pretends to offer something of the food to the dead leopard. Ancestors have food offered to them now and then.

"Sometime," the young ones replied, "you have become indebted to the jackal; he demands of us and takes away every day."

Then the parents lay in wait, and a short while afterwards the jackal came and called out: "Du da, wirst du nicht den Reis geben? Du mußt augenblicklich etwas geben." They started chasing the jackal and chased and chased, until the jackal ran through a hole in some saline ground⁸, The male leopard also tried to run through; but he stuck and died there. Then the jackal said to him: "Hey, I don't see you. Are you lying in wait?"

The jackal had put on silk-cocoons as shoes⁹ and had taken a silk loin-cloth on, and he kicked the leopard in his hind-quarters. Thereupon he went back to the young leopards and said to them: "With whom are you going to stay? I have killed your father, you see."

The she-leopard then said: "In that case we shall stay with you."

Thereupon they went to the jungle-forest to hunt. The leopards hunted and drove the game before them towards the jackal, who stayed in order to lie in wait and kill. Out of fear, he mounted to the top of a white-ants' hill. When the deer came running, the jackal himself purged¹⁰ out of fear. When the leopard mother and the young ones came, they asked him: "Why, where are they? How many did you kill?"

He then answered them: "You do not drive them straight towards me. Look here, along here I have been chasing them, so they have purged."

After this had happened several times, the she-leopard lay in wait, and the jackal and the young leopards drove the game towards her. The she-leopard caught one deer; then the jackal said: "How straight and direct I am driving the game towards you; therefore you are killing them so quickly." "Wait, girl," the jackal then said, "I shall just make a sacrifice¹¹ to the late old man," whereupon he commenced to bite; but he was unable to bite a hole and said: "Do, girl, do bite a hole for me." She made a hole for him, whereupon the jackal entered and ate the

Ado toyo dō bōlōkate inkoe jōmketa. Jōm biyenae are ođokena. Adoe metako kana, Hē na, ma jōmpe nitok dō. Enko hō inā jeltet-koko jōm baraketa.

Ado jāpuť jāpuťko hijuk kana; gađa hō pereć akana; adoko paromok kana. Tarup hōpon dōe menket, De babañ ghōrāmea.

Đuť! chāiokañ, gidra then don ghōrā ocoka.

Adoko menketa, Mabo paromoka. Khange tarup eñga tarup hōponko don paromketa. Ado toyoe donet tahēkana, tala dakreye nūrhayena. Adoko menketa, Ma ya, ma ya, oarepe.

Adoe menketa, Alope oariña, in puruseťa.

Ado gađa dhipre tayane jeđer akan tahēkana. Ado toyoe menketa, Ma ya, ma ya, oarkañme. Itil itil jel in āguma.

Adoe metadea, Iā ya, jāpitkate cahapkakme.

Ado toyo dō jivet dhiri āgukate mocareye tiñkedea, adoe daretketa. Adoe menketa, Hape ya, iā toyom tiñ akadiña. Miť dinlañ hammae arlañ jōmmea.

Uni toyo dō dinamge mittañ pukhri reak kauha rehet cetan khon dake nūia. Ado tayan dōe ciākedea. Khange tho dak bhi-trire tayan dōe unum akana. Ado kauha rehet cetan khon dake nūñū kana. Ado kaťae orkedea. Khange orkede khane, toyo dōe menketa, Iā tayange, inak kaťa ger bagiate kauha rehet gerakata. Khange. tayan dō toyo jañgae arak golkata ar kauha

¹² It is commonly observed that certain wild animals when they have killed, start eating from the hind-quarters, the intestines, liver, heart and kidneys.

¹³ The expression used in Santali really means 'carry on the shoulder', 'riding'.

¹⁴ The narrator has apparently forgotten all about the raining. The crocodile is represented as basking in the morning sun. The crocodile is now scarcely ever met with in the Santal country; in the flat low country, the crocodile is fairly common.

¹⁵ The narrator has omitted to tell that the crocodile has carried the jackal out of the water, and that the jackal has found the 'fat meat' to pay for the service rendered.

¹⁶ See p. 6, note 11.

¹⁷ *Terminalia Arjuna*, Bedd., a large timber tree, frequently growing on the banks of rivers and near water. The roots of the tree are generally much ramified, the earth being often washed away from between the more superficial roots.

liver¹². When he was satisfied, he came out and said to the others: "Well, girl, now please eat," and then they also ate; they got the flesh.

It was raining continually as they came along; the river was also running full. Whilst they were going to cross, one of the young leopards said: "Come, father, I shall carry you on my back¹³."

"Fie! confound it! I shall never let me be carried on the back of my child."

"Well, let us get across," they said, whereupon the leopard mother and the young ones jumped across. But when the jackal jumped, he fell in the middle of the water, and the other ones called out: "Do, do rescue him."

"Don't pull me out," the jackal said, "I am standing on the bottom."

Now a crocodile was lying on the river bank basking¹⁴, and the jackal said: "Please, please, get me out. I shall bring you some fat, fat meat."

The jackal¹⁵ then said: "I say, you, shut your eyes and open your mouth."

The jackal brought some quartz stones, and threw them, as forcibly as he could, into the crocodile's mouth, whereupon he ran away. The crocodile said: "Wait you fellow, you rascal of a jackal have stoned me. Some day we two¹⁶ shall find you and eat you."

The jackal was in the habit of daily drinking water from a tank, standing on the roots of a kauha¹⁷ tree, and the crocodile found this out. The crocodile then dived in the water and was lying so out of sight. When the jackal was drinking water there, standing on the roots of the kauha tree, the crocodile caught him by the leg and pulled. As he pulled him, the jackal said: "That rascal of a crocodile, he has let go of my leg and has bitten the kauha root." The crocodile then let the jackal's leg go at once and bit the kauha root. Then the jackal said:

rehete gerkefa. Unre toyo dōe menkefa, Iā tayan, ne yae jomeh kan tahēkana.

Adō arhō miť then janhe busup̄ thene jederkoka. Tayan dōe ciakede khan, janhe busup̄reya topa akana. En hilok dō toyo dō miťan merom toťkōe nam akawan tahēkana. Ona dō hoťokreye toł akawana. Adō toťor toťkōe don barae kana. Khange tayan dōe menkefa, Heđok! iā merom. Toyon̄ tārāk akawade khan ačgeye toťor toťkōrok kana.

Toyo dōe menkefa, Iā tayan, nondeye tarāk akana? Khange sehgel agukateye jereťata, adō eneye lo gočena. Niā dō mučatena.

(Told by Phagu, of Dhaka village.)

8. Miťten toyo rean̄.

Miťan atore bar ehga honkin tahēkana, hopontet̄ dō Anua aea. Adō uni kořa dōe sioka ar uni engat buđhi dō baskeake idi barawaea. Adō khange miť din dō baskeak̄ idi jokhečge miťan̄ toyotekinkin napamena. Adō uni toyoe menkefa, E buđhi, mase dōhōlem, cetem idiyeta? Ar bam dōhōe khan dō nāhāk̄lan ger gitič got̄ mea, ar nāhāk̄ bogetelan̄ thayamea.

Adō khange uni buđhi dō botorteye dōhōkefa, adō uni hopontet̄ Anua laģite idiyet̄ tahēkan khicři daka adō uni toyoge dhertet̄ dōe jomkefa, adō thořa thuriye sarečkefa. Inaģe uni buđhi dō Anua

¹⁸ Janhe, *Paspalum scrobiculatum*, L., is a very common cultivated millet. The grain is eaten; beer is made from it. The straw is not suitable for cattle-fodder, but is burnt. The potters use it to burn their earthenware. It is very warm to lie in.

⁸¹ During the agricultural season, or whenever the Santals plough, they start ploughing at about sunrise and continue up to nine or ten in the forenoon or, when very busy, perhaps a little longer. The Santal way of ploughing is very superficial, a kind of 'scratching' the soil, possible only when rain has softened the surface, consequently not very heavy and not very tiring. In spite of this

"That rascal of a crocodile, he was just going to eat me, the fellow."

The jackal was in the habit of warming himself in the sun lying in some millet¹⁸ straw. When the crocodile found this out, he buried himself in the straw. That day the jackal had found a goats' wooden bell and had tied that round his neck. He was jumping about making it jingle. The crocodile then said: "Get away, you silly goat. When I am lying in wait for the jackal, she is jingling-jingling here."

"The rascal of a crocodile," the jackal said, "is he lying in wait here?" So he brought fire and set fire to the straw, and the crocodile was burnt to death.

This is ended.

8. THE STORY OF A JACKAL.

IN a village there were living two persons, mother and son. The name of the son was Anua. The young man was ploughing¹, and the old mother was in the habit of taking his forenoon meal out to him. One day whilst she was taking this out to him, she met with a jackal. The jackal said: "Old woman, put it down at once; what are you taking along? If you don't put it down, we two² shall presently bite you, so you will lie there, and we shall give you a good kicking."

The old woman was frightened and put it down, whereupon the jackal ate most of the mixed rice and dāl³ that she was taking out to her son Anua; he left only a little, which the old woman

they do not work their bullocks more than as told, some three to four hours in the morning.

² See p. 6, note 11.

³ Dāl is the common name in a number of north Indian languages for split peas or beans. The dāl is in daily use for making curry. What is here mentioned is rice and dāl cooked together, sometimes prepared in this way by the Santals, but much more common with other races.

thene idiketa. Khange uni kora hõ inã toyo itatgeye jomketa, ar uni kora dõ bae badaeleta, je in dõ toyo itate agu akawadiña mente, bin badaeteye jomketa. Adõ uni toyo dõ din hilokge onkae ereyea uni buđhi dõ.

Khange adõ mit din dõ uni korae menketa, Henda go, cekate bañ netar dõ sigic bigic dakagem aguãñ kan, nonkagem dakayeta se?

Adõ uni buđhiye menketa, Baña babu, orak khon dõ bhagegeñ daka aguyeta; menkhan agui jokhege mitań toyo horregeye esediña; adõ metaña, Ma buđhi, daka dõhoeme, ar bam dõhoe khan dõ nãhãklań ger gitić gotmea ar bogetelań thayamea, Adõ botortea dõhoadege, adõ uniye jom itada, inã dakage adõ am theniń aguyeta, adõ am hõm ruhediń botorte bań lai barawama.

Adõ uni korae menketa, E go, gapa dõ amge siok then dańgra dõ laga agukinme, inge baskeak dõń aguia.

Khange engattete menketa, Acha, beťa, bogege, gapa dõ eńde-khan nahelko sok gotańme; in dõ am leka deńgakate siok then dańgra laga agukateń teńgokakina.

Adõ korae menketa, Hai hai, onkage in auriń hijuk hãbić dõ nõnde bare tekaokakinme.

Adõ menketa, Acha bogege, beťa. Sim rakre dańgram arakkin jokhecrege in' hõń daka otoama; adõ nãhãk baskeak ber jokheć nãhãk am dõ aguime. Adõ menketa, Acha besge.

⁴ The Santals are very careful not to eat anything left, i. e. touched by others. A woman may eat what is left by her husband and children, a man will never eat what is left by women. Two persons will not, e. g., drink water of the same cup, unless the cup is first scoured. They are very particular in this respect, from a sanitary point of view excellently so. To eat anything touched by an animal would be horrible.

⁵ The Santal plough is a very light implement, except for the ploughshare, made entirely from wood. The plough consists of three parts, the plough itself, the handle and the plough-beam, to which the yoke is fastened. To plough is always used a pair of bullocks or buffaloes. When going to or coming from the fields, they fasten the plough to the yoke in such a way that the plough itself hangs

took to Anua. The young man then ate what the jackal had left; but he did not know that he had eaten a jackal's leavings⁴; he did it unknowingly. After this the jackal every day in this way fooled the old woman.

Then, one day, the young man said: "I say, mother, what is the matter, that you now-a-days bring me such small dirty bits of food? do you prepare the food in this way or how?"

"Not at all, my lad," the old woman replied; "the food is quite good when I bring it from home; but whilst I am on the road with it, a jackal blocks the way for me and says to me: "Old woman, put the food down; if you don't put it down, we two shall presently bite you, so you will lie there, and we shall give you a good kicking." So, out of fear, I put it down to him, and he eats and leaves a little; that is the food that I bring you, and, fearing that you also would scold me, I have not told you of it."

"Well, mother," the young man said, "to-morrow you shall drive the bullocks to where I am ploughing; I myself shall bring my forenoon food."

"Very well, my boy," the old woman replied, "that is good; to-morrow then you hang the plough⁵ on the yoke for me; I shall take loin-clothes on like you, drive the bullocks to where you are ploughing and let them stand there."

"That is right," the young man said, "keep them here until I shall come."

"Yes, very well, my boy," she replied; "at cock-crow, when you loose the bullocks, I shall prepare the food and leave it for you; then you take the food along at mealtime." "All right, that is good," he said.

down just below the yoke, whilst the plough-beam points upwards. The bullocks then carry the whole along. Sometimes the plough is left in the field, only the iron ploughshare being taken home, sometimes the ploughman may carry it himself. Here the bullocks are to take the plough along.

Ado khangé sari, onékin galmaraolet lekage dāngrakoe jorao gotadete uni buđhi dōe laga idiketkina, ar uni Anua kōra dō kanthateye bandeyena are gogōkena, ar dālicre dakae sajaoketa. Ado baskeak beren khan dō dālic dakae dipilketa, ado uni buđhi hōr lekage theŋga tirup tirupte ado baskeake idiyet kana.

Khange ado uni toyo dōe ođok gotena, adōe mēn gotketa, Daka dōhōeme, buđhi, baŋkhanlaŋ ger gitić gotmea. Ado khangeye dōhōketa, ado uni toyo dōe jojōm kana. Un jōkhećge Anua dō ona theŋgate uni toyo dōe dal baji gotkedeā. Khange uni toyo dōe nīr beret gotenteye dāř gotketa, are mēn gotketa, Durre; Anua kanae ya. Adōe ruhet gotkedeā, Hape ya, Anua, cetem dal akadinte, iaićge, kārbaŋaŋ jikiatama ar nahellaŋ icatama. Ado onkae ruhet barakette uni toyo dōe dāřketa.

Ado uni kōra dō engat buđhi then senkateye lai barawadea. Ado khangé ađi barićkin landaketa; ado oraťte dāngrakin laga aguketkina. Ado khangé dosar hilok khon dō uni kōra dō ona kārbaŋe holate tōl akata.

Ado khangé miť din dō ninda jōkheć uni toyo dōe heć gotena, ado nahele ic gotata ar kārbaŋeye jikić kan jōkhećge liŋđhiye geť gotena. Ado uni toyoe mēn gotketa, Durre, ia Anua ya, liŋđhiye geť ocokidiŋ dō. Hape ya Anua, malhanlaŋ jōm ađoetama.

Ado uni Anua dō ona malhan jhaťa dō janumte goťae ram esetketa. Ado khangé ninda jōkheć uni toyo dōe heć gotena, ado gođ lağıť mōcae idi khangeye rogōka. Adōe mēneta, Durre,

⁶ Especially during the rainy season, but also at other times, women may dress not in one piece of cloth covering the breast and doing service for a petticoat, but in two pieces, one just big enough to go round the waist and cover the body below, whilst the other and smaller piece is taken up over the shoulder. It is a poor woman's clothing, but also used by all, when out doing fieldwork during the rainy season and the like.

⁷ The Santal word means a flat kind of basket. They have a large variety of forms.

⁸ Among the Santals, men carry on the shoulder, women on their head. When a child is born and people ask for or are told the sex of the new-born, the standard way of telling it is to say 'carrying on the shoulder' or 'carrying on the head', bħariā or dipil, as the case may be.

Thereupon, in accordance with what they had talked together, he yoked the bullocks for the old woman, and she drove them along, whilst Anua dressed himself up in women's way, with a bit of cloth for a loin-cloth, and a piece over the breast⁶, and put the food ready in a basket⁷. When the time for the forenoon meal came, he took the basket on his head⁸, and leaning on a stick, like the old woman, he took the food along.

The jackal then all at once appeared and called out: "Put the food down, old woman, otherwise we two shall bite you, so you will lie there." So he put the basket down, and the jackal started eating. Whilst he was doing this, Anua struck the jackal with the stick, so he turned over and over. The jackal got on his legs in a hurry and ran away, saying: "Oh my! it is Anua, the fellow." Then he commenced scolding him: "Wait a bit, you fellow, you Anua; what, you have struck me, you unspeakable fellow, for that we two shall drag our posteriors along your plough-handle and pass stools on your plough." Having railed at him in this way, the jackal ran away.

The young man went to his mother and told her all, and both of them laughed heartily, whereupon they drove the bullocks home; from the next day the young man kept a razor tied to his plough-handle.

Then, one day, it happened at night that the jackal came and passed stool on the plough; when he was dragging his posteriors along the plough-handle, he cut himself in his hind-quarters. "Oh dear me!" the jackal cried, "this Anua has caused me to cut myself in my hind-quarters. Wait a bit, you fellow, you Anua, we two shall eat your beans for you."

Anua then fenced his bean-stakes⁹ in entirely with thorn-tree branches. When the jackal came at night and stretched out his snout to pluck beans, the thorns pierced him. "Oh dear me!"

⁹ This bean (*Dolichos Lablab*, L.) is generally grown in one small spot, the plant being trailed over the (dried) branches of a bush planted there.

Ānuṇwak malhan dō bejāe yae gegera ya. Adō bae jom dāreata. Khangeye menketa, Hape ya, Ānuṇ, malhan dō bejāeye gegertama, iaiċge, sim yalañ jom atarkotama; hape gapa ocoak, dhoragelañ jomkotama.

Adō khangē uni Ānuṇ dō datrom sapkate dosar hilok dō sim kundhi ðhene durup akana, adō ñinda khangē uni toyo dōe heċ gotena; adō orakteye bolō gotena, adō sim kundhi ðhene calao gotena, adō gerko lagit mocae idi khangeye tobak daram godea. Khangē uni toyo dōe paċ gotenge; arhō onka mocae idi khangē ona datromte bohōke tobak godea. Adō onka onkateye bhagaoen khan dōe oċokena, adō racare oċokkateye meneta, Cet ya, Ānuṇ simpe tobak akadiña, ar Ānuṇ hō liñdhiye geċ oco akadiña; iā Ānuage, engatem goċ ataroka. Adō onka ruheċ barakate uni toyo dōe calaoena.

Adō uni Ānuṇ dō ere ere kathaeye goċena, adō uni engat buđhi dō, kathae, adō dosar hilok dōe rak barayeta, adō ere ere, kathaeye rak barayeta, adō rak rakte, kathae, adō bir sen calaokateye rak barayeta. Adō khangē uni toyo dō, kathaeye oċok gotena, adōe kuli gotkedeā, Henda buđhi, cedak adom rak barayeta?

Khangē adō uni buđhiye menketa, Amge tho hoponiñ dom sarapadea, onatege uni Ānuṇ dōe goċentiña.

Khangē adō uni toyoe men gotketa, kathae, Bhagelenam, iā Ānuage, engate uđiyem dalañ kan tahēkana — bam goċ atarena? Adōe menketa, Henda buđhi, adō tisem bhañđanea?

¹⁰ The Santal sickle looks very much the same as the Norwegian implement.

¹¹ The fowls live in the same house as the family. Generally a small part of the floor in a corner is set aside for the fowls. Here the fowls stay from evening to morning. A tiny ridge is often put as a barrier across the floor.

¹² It is very common that both men and women in speaking add to the verb a word which is supposed to emphasize the meaning, but is untranslatable, except by something akin to swearing. The men use a word meaning 'to urinate', and the women a word meaning 'to burn up'. The jackal here uses the latter word.

¹³ The last of the Santal funeral ceremonies, bhañđan, is regularly performed after the bones of the corpse have been thrown into the Damuda river. It is a

the jackal said, "Anua's beans are biting something awful, oh my!" He could not eat and said: "Wait a bit, you fellow, you Anua; your beans are biting something awful, you unspeakable fellow; your fowls, you fellow, we two shall eat up entirely; wait, let it become to-morrow, we two shall surely eat those you have."

The next day Anua took a sickle¹⁰ and sat down near the fowls' corner¹¹. At night the jackal appeared, entered the house and went straight to the fowls' corner; then, when he put his mouth out to catch some, Anua met him with the sickle and pecked him. The jackal then drew back, and when he again put his mouth out, he met him with the sickle and pecked him in his head. When he had to give it up after having tried the same several times, he went out. When he came out into the courtyard, he said: "What, you fellow, you Anua-fowls have pecked me, and Anua has also caused me to get my hind-quarters cut. You unspeakable Anua, dash it, you shall die and be done for¹²." Having scolded in this way the jackal went away.

Thereupon, people tell, Anua pretended to die, and his old mother the next day commenced to wail, that is to say, she pretended to wail, and crying she went to the forest and wailed there. Then the jackal came suddenly out from somewhere and asked her: "I say, old woman, what are you crying for?"

"It was yourself," the old woman replied, "who cursed my son; therefore my Anua died for me."

"It served you right," the jackal said; "you rascal of an Anua, dash it, you were beating me very hard, — did you not die, confound you¹²?" "Look here, old woman", he said, "when are you going to have the funeral ceremonies¹³?"

circumstantial affair, with offerings to the spirit of the dead and feasting and drinking. What is here called *bhāṇḍan* is, of course, not the proper thing.

¹⁴ The woman is wailing in Bengali, possibly because it is meant to be more impressive, the jackals in the Santal tales being frequently introduced as speaking Bengali.

Ado uni buđhi doe menketa, Teheñ nindageñ bhañdane lağıt; onate am lalaige in don hec akana. Adon menketa, Q hae, bhala hoponiñ lekage dakakon idiae kan tahēkana, ado niā bhañdanre do okoe tora uni hōñ laiaegea. Ado onka menkate, beṭa, nōkōe am then lalai in don hecākana. Dakaeañ, utuiañ, piṭṭḥaiñ nāhāk, ado okoe in em pahilakoteñ joma? Nin dara do uniye tahēkante uniñ em pahilaea, eñde eñeć in jomeṭ tahēkana. Ado uni banugieće in do ađi bhabnañ aḱaueṭa.

Ado khangē uni toyoe men goṭketa, Alom bhabnaka, buđhi, uni bodol do in menaṇa; inḡe nāhāk em pahilañme.

Adoe menketa, Acha, toḃe calakme nāhāk.

Adoe menketa, Acha dhinañ ayupge tho?

Adoe menketa, Hē, dhinaṅge calao godokme nāhāk, alom eṛeña.

Adoe menketa, Ma, ohoñ eṛemea.

Ado uni buđhi doe ruṇrena, ar uni toyo do ako jat aemae riāu jarwaketkoa. Ado ayup khangeko calao gotena. Ado uni buđhi doe men goṭketa, Ma beṭa, duruṭtabonpe. Khangē adoko duruṭ barayena. Ado uni buđhi doe rakeṭa, kathae, Hae! hae! Anua beṭa muri gelae, hae! hae! Anua beṭa muri gelae.

Onka, kathae, uni buđhi doe rak barayeta. Ado, kathae, uni toyoe menketa, Alom raga, buđhi. Ma, hapekme, inakge ragme. Nitok do goćen hoṛ do ohoṃ namlea. Nitok do hapekme, ar ma daka baraetabonme.

Khangē ṭukućkoe gitil bara aderketa, seṅgele jolketa; ado uni toyoe menketa, E buđhi, tol hataṛkaleme, bañkhan nāhākle laṛḥai boṭećkoka.

Ado uni buđhiye menketa, Saṛige, beṭa, bhagegem menketa; tol pahilkapegeañ. Ado joteko, barahiko namkateye tolketkoa, ar uni pagla toyo do khub kajake tolkedeā. Adoe metae kana,

¹⁵ The Santal word, *karahi*, means a kind of shallow cooking vessel, used among other things to cook Santal cakes in; it is usually made from earthenware, but may also be of metal.

"To-day," the old woman replied, "this night I am going to have the funeral ceremonies; therefore I have come to tell you. I said to myself: Alas, I was taking food out to him like to a son of mine; therefore I shall this instant also invite him to the funeral ceremonies. Having this in my mind, my son, I have, as you see, come to you to let you know. I shall cook rice, I shall prepare curry, I shall make cakes presently: but to whom shall I give first, and then eat myself? Formerly, when he was there, I was giving him first; then only I took my food. Now when he is no more, I am feeling exceedingly sorrowful."

"Don't be sorrowful, old woman," the jackal replied, "I am here in his stead; give me first now."

"All right," she said, "come then."

"All right," he replied, "it is later to-day, in the evening, is it not?"

"Yes," she said, "be sure to come in the afternoon; don't fail me."

"Be sure," he replied, "I shall not fail you."

The old woman then returned, and the jackal invited a great crowd of his kind to come along. When it became evening, they went; the old woman met them and said: "Please, my son, be seated all of you," and they sat down. The old woman was crying: "Ach, ach¹⁴, Anua mein Sohn ist gestorben, ach, ach. Anua mein Sohn ist gestorben."

In this way, people tell, the old woman wailed. Then the jackal said: "Don't cry, old woman. Be quiet, stop that, let that be enough crying. Now you will not get the dead one back. Stop now, and please prepare food for us."

She then scoured the cooking pots and took them in; thereupon she lighted a fire. The jackal then said: "Old woman, tie us up for the present, otherwise we might commence fighting presently."

"That's true, my son," the old woman said, "it was well you said that; I shall first tie you all." She then found yoke cords and ropes and tied them all up; and that rascally jackal she tied very firmly. So she said: "First, my son, I shall make cakes

Ē beṭa, pāhil don pīṭṭa marāntabona, inābo jom hatara. Daka dō qhō nāhāk isin hoṭlena: daka dō tayomteṇ isina.

Adoko mēn goṭketa, Acha bogege, ma eṇḍekhan pīṭṭa hoḍme. Ado, kathae, karahiye dhipauketa; ado onare pohrēk pohrēk dake chitkəu goṭak kana, ado choṇ choṇ saḍe godok kana. Ado uni toyo dōe mēnettakoa, Oṭe ya, ceṭ leka mōṇj saḍe kana! Khub nāhākbo joma. Ado onka choṇ choṇ saḍe torage, kathae, uni pagla toyo dōe don goṭeṭ tahēkana.

Khange uni Anua dō bhitārreye gitić akan tahēkana. Ado hape hapeteye beretente theṅgae nāmkeṭa, ado theṅga mūtḱateye nīr oḍok hoṭena; ado dale dalketḱoa dō, andhe mundheye uyukketa. Ado khange onko doko ger topak baraketteko darḱeta. Ar nui dō bae topak dareata; khangeye dal jhin jhinakudea, ado leṭeṭ leṭeṭe tahē aṅgayena.

Ado dosar hilok dō dak lo ghaṭṭeye idikedeā, ar oṇḍeye khunṭaukadea, ar miṭṭaṇ guḍṇa benaokate oṇḍeye dōhokata. Ado jāhāe aimaige dak loko calak, ado sanam hoṛ mimiṭ guḍṇako piṭṭauea. Onka onkate uni toyo doko dal mōkedeā.

Khange ado miṭ din dō ninda jokheć dosra toyo dak nū oṇḍeko hećena, ado dakko nū baraketa, adoko metae kana, Henda ya, ceṭ jomte baṇ onka dō bebaṛicem moṭa akan dō? Bhala ceṭkom jometa, ar ale dō okorle moṭak kana?

Adoē mēnkeṭa, Dakaṇ jometa; tinak hoṛ nonḍe dak loko hijuk kan, sanam hoṛ mimiṭ bakhra dakako āgu darawaṇ kana.

Adoko mēnkeṭa, Ale hō eṇḍekhan nonḍe khunṭaulele khanko āgukelea?

Adoē mēnkeṭa, Hē ya, āika sanam hoṛ doko āgukepe coṇ baṇ coṇ, mēnkhan miṭ hoṛ dō khaṭigeko āgukepea. Ar bam paṭiaṇ

¹⁶ See p. 56, note 16.

¹⁷ Ghaṭ in Santali means generally a passage down to, or the place where people fetch water. To have access to such a place means that one belongs to a particular society or caste. In the villages people are often rather strict and hard in respect of this. The ghaṭ may be at a river or a tank.

¹⁸ The Santali word is used about a heavy piece of wood, used for beating the rice bundles (baṇḍi) to tighten the ropes with which these are bound.

for us; we shall eat them for the present. It will take some time for the rice to be cooked; I shall cook the rice afterwards."

"Very well," they said, "please, then, be quick and make cakes." The old woman then put a pan¹⁵ on the fire and let it become hot; now and again she sprinkled a little water on it, so it made a hissing sound. The jackal every time remarked: "Listen, my friends, how beautifully it sounds. We shall get a rich feed presently." And every time he heard that hissing sound, the rascally jackal jumped for joy.

Now Anua had been lying down in the bhitār¹⁶. He very quietly got up and found a stick, and taking a firm hold of the stick with his fist, he ran out and commenced to beat the jackals all he could, he struck out in all directions. The jackals then tore the ropes with their teeth and ran away; but this one was not able to tear the cords, and he beat him so he became faint and was lying there utterly exhausted until dawn.

The following day Anua took him down to the place where people fetched water¹⁷ and tied him to a post there; he also made a club¹⁸ and put it there. It then came to pass that, whenever women came to fetch water, every one gave him a blow with the club. In this way they beat the jackal, so that he swelled up.

Then, one day at night time, some other jackals came there to drink water. When they had drunk water, they said to him: "Look here, you fellow, what can you be eating to become so enormously fat? What on earth are you eating? and we others, we do not become fat at all."

"I am eating rice," he replied; "every one who comes here to fetch water, all of them bring some along and give me a portion rice."

"Would they then," one of them said, "bring us also something, if we were tied to a post here?"

"Yes, of course, you fellow," that jackal replied; "now I could not say whether they would bring or not to all of you; but to one they would be sure to bring. If you don't believe it, please release me, and I shall tie you with the same rope that I am

khan dō hōṇé ma in raṛakañme ar ona jorategē amiñ jorakama. Nēlme nāhāk gapa setak khangeko āguama.

Khange tho uni dosra toyoe mēnketa, Acha bhalañ biḍautama. Ado sari onka mēnkate uni dōe raṛakedea ar aḥe tōl ocoyena. Khange ado aṅgayen khan, sari ado mōrē goṭen aimañ dak loko hijuk kane nēl goṭkeṭkoa. Adōe mēnketa, Mōrē hoṛko hijuk kana, mōrē bakhra nāhākko āguyeta; khub jom nāhākiñ joma.

Onkae mēñon kan tahēkange adoko seṭeren khan dō kaṇḍako dōho barakata, ar ona guḍṇa sapkate sanam hoṛ mimiṭ guḍṇako mukerkedea. Khange ado aṛiste uni toyo dō aḍi baṛiḍe dōneta. Khange arhō peā ponea aimañko heḥ juṭucena. Khange adōe dōneṭ nēlṭe dalko dalkedea dō, ēkkalṭe oṇḍegeko dal goḥ utarkedea. Onē onka lekate uni pagla toyo dōe jitaṇena.

Cabayena katha dō.

9. Turṭa koṛa ar toyo reaṇ.

Aḍi sedaere miṭṭaṇ raṇḍi maejiue tahēkana. Uniren dō miṭṭaṇ-getaeyae hoṇon dō sadherre. Unige miṭṭaṇ gaḍa aṛe beḍare eskare sioka. Eṅgat buḍhi dō baskeak dak maṇḍiye idiaea. Ar miṭṭaṇ toyo dō goṭe ciṇḍkareye tāṛākkoka.

Ado khange uni buḍhi dō koṛa baskeak dak maṇḍiye idiaea; ado uni toyo dō buḍhiye metaea, Dēn buḍhi, dak maṇḍi emañme. Bando Turṭa dōe siok kan? Inḡe coñ siok kan tahēkan. Uni buḍhiren hoṇontṭe koṛawak hūtum dō Turṭawaea.

Ado onkae metade khan, eṇeye dōhoṭeṭge, adōe dul barawadege. Ado uni Turṭa laḡit dō dak dake sareḥ idiadege. Ado Turṭa dōe mēna, Henda go, ceṭ leka bañ dak maṇḍi dōm āguañ?

¹ The name of the man who wrote this story down is Kānhu Maṛṇḍi of village Chondorpura in the Dumka Damin. He was a well educated man, at one time a school teacher. Died in Mesopotamia during the war. The Santal original is considerably below the standard set by Sagram. It seems to be two stories, dimly remembered and joined together.

² The Santali word for food used here is lit. rice-water, a very common dish. The word is, however, often used as a modest name for food in general.

tied with. Be sure, as soon as it becomes morning to-morrow, they will bring you something."

The other jackal then said: "Very well, I shal like to try what you say." And verily, having said this, he released the jackal and let himself be tied up. When it dawned next day, he saw five women coming to fetch water. "Five persons are coming," he said, "they are surely bringing five portions; how well I shall eat!"

Whilst he was saying this to himself, they arrived and put their water-pots down; thereupon they took the club and all of them hit him one blow with the club. The jackal did not feel pleased at this and jumped and leaped all he could to get loose. Then three or four more women came, in addition to the first ones. When they saw how he was jumping, they beat him again and again; they beat him to death then and there. In this way that rascally jackal came away safely.

The story is ended.

9. TURTA AND THE JACKAL¹.

ONCE upon a time long long ago there was a widow. She had one son, an only one. This young man was ploughing some land along the bank of a river, quite alone. His mother was in the habit of taking his forenoon-meal rice-water² out to him. And a jackal was lying in wait in a croton thicket³ near by.

Well, the old woman was carrying the forenoon meal out to the boy, and the jackal says to the woman: "Please, old woman, give me food. Do you think it is Turta who is ploughing? Why, it was I who was ploughing." The name of the son of the old woman was Turta.

When the jackal spoke to her in this way, she put the basket down and poured food out for him, whereupon she took the remainder, just the water, to Turta. Turta asked her: "I say, mother, what kind of stuff is this rice-water you bring me?"

³ The tree or rather bush mentioned is *Croton oblongifolius*, Roxb., fairly common in the Santal country.

Ado buđhi doe mēna, Uni toyogeye eṛēña. Din hilok metañae, Turta do bacce siok kan. Onka dinamgeye eṛeyea ar deakoreye capo baraea.

Ado miť din do uni koṛa do palkoe toťketa, ar dañgra do uni buđhigeye gupi barayetkoa. Ado aće buđhi lekae bandeyena ar sakomkoe hořokketa, ar miťtañ potam cupi teñgoće gok toraketa. Ado dak mañdiye dipil idiyeta. Ado khange uni toyo do gajar khone ñir ođokena are metadea, Deñ buđhi, dak mañdi dul oťo-añme. Inge thoṛ in siok kana.

Khan adoe emadea, adoe jomjoñ kana. Ar ać do uni dea sećreye duṛupēna, ado uni eñgat buđhi lekage cañđbolkoreye tunum barayedea. Toyo dea seće duṛupkate tunum barayedekhane menketa, uni toyo do, bañma, Noa do kaca kantiña. Khan tunum bara tunum bara pheđ muñdre ona potam cupi teñgoće cañđbole samak kuťṛakeťtaea, adoe dať tapketa.

Ar toyoe menketa, Hape ya, Turta, cañđbolem samak akattiña, kārbañ jikiatama.

Khange Turta do ona kārbare miťtañ laser holate toľketa. Ado toyo do kārbareye jikiak jokhen liñđhi do geť māyāmentaea. Adoe menketa, Bejāe Turtawak kārba do lasertaea. Hape, sim in jomkotaea. Ađi liñđhiye geť oco akadiña.

Onkae menkeť khan, Turta do ayuť jokhen datromante sim kundhi theñe duṛuť thirkoka. Ado toyo do hape hapeteye ñam barayetko kana. Uni Turta do mar datromte tobage. Khange adoe mēna, Durre! bařic Turtaren sim doko tokbaktaea.

Ado arhō Turta doe mēna, Hapelañ batraoetme kana.

Ado toyo doe menkeť, Oh! Ia Turta, meřomlañ jomkotama.

⁴ Santal women make extensive use of wristlets of sorts, every married woman has some.

⁵ The Santals have several forms of axes, the one here mentioned, called 'dove-tail' axe, being very small, size and form reminding one of the tail of a dove.

⁶ What is here translated 'trousers' is a piece of cloth, some 2½ m. long and ½ m. broad, taken round the loins and between the legs. It is the old regular form of Santal loin-cloth for men.

⁷ See p. 6, note 11.

"That jackal," his mother said, "he deceives me. Every day he says to me: Turta, why, he does not plough." In this way the jackal fools her every day, and she pats the jackal on the back.

Then, one day, the young man took the ploughshares off, and the old woman was tending the bullocks, whilst he himself clothed himself like an old woman and put wristlets⁴ on; as he went, he took a small axe⁵ along, carrying it on his shoulder, and he also carried the food on his head. As he went along, the jackal came running out of the thicket and said to him: "Please, old woman, pour rice-water out for me, before you go further. It is I who plough, you know."

He gave him some, and the jackal commenced eating. He sat down behind the jackal, whilst he, like his old mother, was touching him with his hand over his back and tail. As he was sitting there and touching the jackal, he, i. e. the jackal, said: "That's my trousers⁶." The young man kept on touching him until he suddenly, with his small axe, cut the jackal's tail off at the root, whereupon he ran away.

"Wait a bit, you Turta," the jackal called out, "you have cut my tail; I shall drag my posterior along your plough-handle."

Turta then tied a sharp razor to the plough-handle, and when the jackal dragged his posterior along the plough-handle, his hind-quarters were cut, and the blood flowed out. "Turta's plough-handle," the jackal said, "is awfully sharp. Wait a bit, I shall eat his fowls. He is the cause of my having got my hind-quarters so badly cut."

When he had said this, Turta, in the evening, took a sickle and sat down quietly at the fowls' corner. The jackal came and was trying to catch some without making any noise, and Turta at once pecked him with the sickle. "Oh my," the jackal said, "it is something awful those fowls of Turta's peck."

"Wait," Turta said, "we two⁷ are making a fine show of you."

"Oh," the jackal called out, "you unspeakable Turta, we two shall eat your goats."

Ado khange Turta dō merom gudri thene durupkoka muṅgarante. Ado ger barako jōkheṭ mar uni dō muṅgarte kuṭame. Ado mena, Turtaren merom dō bejāeko kukṭamtaea. Hape, Turtai goḍlen khan, bhaṇḍan in jomtaea.

Turta dō ona kathae aṅjomkeṭ khan buḍhiye metadea, Iṭ go, birte calakme, sahan sakamko heṭ baraeme, ar in ṇutumte rak baraeme.

Ado senkate nonkae rak barayeta: Turta re, Turta mori gel re! Turta re, Turta mori gel re!

Ado khange toyoe heṭena; ado kulikedeā, Henda buḍhi, cedakem raketa?

Ho, Turtai goḍena, onateṇ raketa, ar bhaṇḍane laḡit sakamkoṇ heṭ idiyeta; hoṛ hō banukkoa.

Ado toyo dōe menketa, Ho, ma am dō joto tear hatarṃe, in nāhāk peṛa doṇ nēota idikoa.

Khan uni buḍhi dō oraḱteye senena ar merome goḱketkoa. Khange toyo dō toyokoe riṇu jaora aḡuketkoa. Ado onko toyo dō bebek poska poska sikol baberteye tolketkoa jhaṇṭi are arete, ar uni baṇḍiṭ toyo dō khub keṭeṭ baberteye tolkedeā, jemōn repeḱkate aloko jom, ado ematkōa. Nēko jom adha aḍhi akat jōkheṇ buḍhi dōe raketa: Turta re, Turta kahā gel re? Turta mutak lele an.

Ado uni baṇḍiṭ toyo buḍhiye metae kana, Ceṭ leka bam raketa kan?

Ado meneta, Ceṭ leka baṇ raketa kan? Turtawak mutak taḡe-kantaea, ona baṇ kolkatṭaea. Ona disṭe ona mutak in ṇeṭea ar in raketa.

Ona tayom Turta dō mutakanteye oḍokena, ar uni dō mar ona mutakte ghatrako. Onko toyo dō topakkateko daṛketa; ar uni baṇḍiṭ toyo dō ukhuṛeye tolledeā ar khub moṭa baberte. Chai

⁸ The Santal word likely means to convey 'with the hoof'.

⁹ The old woman is using Bengali.

¹⁰ Some of the personal belongings of the deceased are usually 'sent with' him. That is effected through certain symbolical acts.

Turta then sat down at the goat-pen with a wooden mallet, and when the jackal was biting at the goats, he hammered him with the mallet. The jackal then said: "These goats of Turta's are hammering⁸ something awful. Wait a bit, when Turta is dead, I shall feast at the funeral ceremonies."

When Turta heard this, he said to his old mother: "I say, mother, go to the forest to fetch firewood and leaves, and wail for me."

The old woman went and cried thus: "Turta oh, Turta ist gestorben⁹, oh! Turta oh, Turta ist gestorben oh!"

Then the jackal came and asked her: "I say, old woman, what are you crying for?"

"Oh, Turta is dead; therefore I am crying, and I am finding leaves to prepare for his funeral ceremonies; there are no people either to help."

"O," the jackal replied, "you make everything ready; I shall invite the friends and bring them."

The woman then went home and killed some goats, and the jackal called a crowd of jackals together and came with them. The old woman tied all the jackals with some rotten straw-rope along the fence; but the tailless jackal she tied with a very strong rope; she did all this to prevent them from fighting over the food; thereupon she gave them. When they had half done eating, the old woman wailed: "Turta oh, wohin ist Turta gegangen? Turta, hole den Hammer⁹!"

"How is it you are wailing?" the tailless jackal called out to her.

"How is it I am wailing?" the old woman said; "Turta had a wooden mallet, and I did not send that with him¹⁰. I remember this when I see the mallet, and wail."

After this, Turta came out with the mallet and slashed at them right and left with the mallet. The other jackals tore their ropes and ran away; but the tailless jackal he tied to the rice mortar¹¹

¹¹ A large and heavy wooden implement, used by the Santals and also by many other races for husking rice and other purposes.

dareatae topak dareatae. Mar bhagete mukere. Ado dal dalteye dal mokedea. Ado khangе duar thene tolkadea, ado jao hilok odokok boloke dalea, ado artetgeye dal mokedea.

Khan mit din do mittan tarup andiai hecena, adoe meneta, Henda bhagna, bejaeyem mota akan do?

Oh mamо, cet ban men? In do ban nelak in neleta ar ban jomak in jometa.

Ado tarupe meneta, Tobe in nondeh tahelen khan, in hon motakoka?

Ado toyo doe menket, He, am do arho barti motam neloka; am ma ente naprak jat kanem.

Khange ado toyo doe meneta, De endekhan rarakanme. Adoe rarakadea, ado ac bodol uni kul andiageye tolkadea.

Ado Turtа kora do racateye odokok kan tahékana. Ado maran utare nelkede khan, mutak thengate bhagete dalkede, dal adraokedeae. Onka dal dalteye dal mokedea. Ona dosar tesar khangeye gocena. Uni Turtа kora doe khalkede. Khalkate ona harta doe rok joraoketa ar busupe bhoraoketa. Ar ona do ato atoe gok barayeta, are koe baraca ar poesakoko emaea. Onatekin asuloka akin banar enga hon. Dher din onka onkateye poesa jaoraketa.

Ado mit din engattete metadea, E go, in do banij bepar in calaka. Ma satu sambaranme.

Adoe satu sambaradeteye odok calaoena mit raj disomte. Ado raj nangrahae namketa. Ado ondeye kuli barayetkoa, Okoko sadompe akrińkoa? Uni rajrengе adi utar hati sadom menakkoa. Ado ayupente en hilok do ona nangraha are sadom orak phedregeye derayena.

¹² This Santal word is generally used about the tiger, but is also used as a common name for tigers and leopards.

¹³ Pice, or in North Indian languages paesa or poesa, is $\frac{1}{4}$ anna, about one farthing. In Santal it is very generally used to mean 'money'.

¹⁴ It is very seldom that Santals go about to buy and sell. They may take animals to a distant market to sell, or go to such places to buy; otherwise trading is something Santals have not as yet shown themselves fit for.

with a very heavy rope. He tried, but he was utterly unable to tear himself loose. So Turta laid it thickly on with the mallet. He continued beating him until he swelled up. Then he tied him at the door, and whenever he went out or came in, he gave him a blow every day, so he swelled still more.

Then one day a big leopard came. "I say, nephew," he said, "you have grown exceedingly fat."

"O uncle, what can I say? I see what is not seen, and I eat what is not eaten."

"Then," the leopard said, "if I stayed here, should I also grow fat?"

"Yes," the jackal replied, "you will look still much fatter; for you, you see, are of a big race."

"Please then, unbind me," the jackal said, whereupon the leopard unbound him, and the jackal tied the big leopard¹² there in his stead.

When Turta was coming out into the courtyard and saw that he was so immensely big, he gave him a good hiding with the club; he beat him so that he bellowed. By beating him in this way, he made him swell up, and two three days afterwards the leopard died, and Turta flayed him. When he had done this, he sewed the skin together and filled it with straw. This stuffed thing he carried about from village to village begging, and people gave him pice¹³. By these means they supported themselves, both mother and son. A long time they collected money in this way.

One day Turta said to his mother: "Mother, I am going off to trade¹⁴. Please, make me some provisions for the road."

When she had given him some food to take with him, he started and came to a king's country. When he reached the capital, he asked the people there: "Is there any one here who sells ponies?" Now the king had a large number of elephants and horses, and when it became evening that day, he stopped for the night in the outskirts of the town near the stables.

Ado ayup jokhen onko sadomko galmaraojon kana. Mit̃tañ sadom do jaṅgare khil menaktaea. Uni d̃oe meneta, Noa khil jāhāeye q̃oq̃kletiñ khan, ̃ekkalte q̃t ar sermañ uḍaukoka. Ar miť sadom d̃oe meneta, In h̃o jaṅga bañ murukok kante, bañkhan gel bar q̃os oṭaṇok lekañ d̃ar̃kea, ar ona oṭaṇok dhuri ̃auri cabakregeñ heć ruar̃koka. Ar adom sadom d̃oko meneta, H̃e, ale do bar siñ pe m̃āhā h̃or do miť d̃intele calaokoka. Ar uni Turt̃a koṛa do onako joto galmaraoe aṇjomkettakoa.

Ado dosar hilok onko sadome bachaoet̃koa. Khan raj sip̃ahiye laiat̃koa. Ado rajko laiaidea, Mit̃tañ h̃or sadome kiriñko laḡiť.

Ado raje menket̃, Ho, ma emaepe jāh̃aet̃akgeye khusiako.

Adoko hećente uni kher̃d̃ok kher̃d̃oke taram, uni sadomge hataoe laḡite metaťkoa, In do nuigeñ hataoea. Eťakko ma m̃oṛ̃e gel turui gel dh̃abiće damako kan. Ad̃oe menket̃a, In do reṅgeć h̃or, ni kh̃oṛda sadomgeñ hataoea.

Adoko damadea, Nui d̃om khusiť khan, gel bar ťakale damae kana.

Ado khusiye geť bar ťakateye hataokede. Ado ona disom khon eťak disomteye calak kana. Ado uni sadom do kher̃d̃ok kher̃d̃oke calak kana.

Ado enka calak calak mit̃tañ eťak raj disome tiokket̃a. Oṇḍe do diṇamge rajko bahaloka ar diṇamgeko gujuka. Eken rajren era ar h̃op̃onerage menakkina. Ar uni koṛa sadomre dećkateye tiokket̃ khan, oṇḍen sip̃ahiko kuliyede, Okatem hijuk kana?

Ad̃oe metaťkoa, In do bañij bepar in oḍok heć akana.

Adoko metae kana, Noṇḍe rajem tah̃ekoka?

Ad̃oe menket̃a, In do reṅgeć h̃or, khusiāñ bañe?

Adoko menket̃a, Ale h̃ole khusikoka ar uni raj era h̃oe khusi-koka. H̃e, adom tah̃e d̃areak khan, ona reakle lai bujhaṇ bara-wama, bañma, uniak h̃orm̃ore kal menaea. Uni ad̃oe oḍoklen

¹⁵ Twelve is in Santal frequently used to express perfection, maximum etc. One q̃os in Santal is equivalent to about two English miles.

¹⁶ I. e. rupees. One rupee is about 1 sh. 4 d.

In the evening, the horses were talking together. One of the horses had a splinter in his hoof; he said: "If any one would remove the splinter I have, I should at once fly over earth and heaven." Another horse said: "As for me also, there is no power in my legs, otherwise I should run like twelve¹⁵ miles like dust carried away by the wind, and I should return before the dust ceased to be blown away." And other horses said: "Yes, we should in one day go two three days' way." And Turta heard all this that they were talking together.

The following day he picked out these horses and said so to the king's peons. Then these told the king: "A man wishes to buy horses."

"O," the king said, "let him have any he may like."

When the horses came, he said he wanted to take the horse that was limping. "This one I shall take," he said; "the others he is pricing fifty to sixty¹⁶. I am a poor man," he said, "I shall take this lame horse."

They told him the price. "If you like this one, we want to have twelve rupees for him."

He was pleased at this price and bought the horse for twelve rupees, whereupon he went from that country to another; and the horse was limping along.

Going along in this way he reached the country of another king. There kings were appointed every day, and were dying daily. Only the queen and a princess were living. When the young man reached there, riding his horse, the soldiers asked him: "Where are you coming?"

"I have come from home," he replied, "to trade."

"Would you like to stay here as our king?" they asked him.

"I am a poor man," he answered; "it depends on whether she would like me."

"We should be pleased," they said, "and the queen would also be pleased. Well, if you are able to stay, we shall tell you and let you know, how the state of matters is. It is this, there is

khan, ađi marań janwar uni dō. Q̄t khon serma tuńgau d̄h̄biće cahaba. Uni dō m̄ũ horteye ođokoka. Onate raj dō paseć mit hajar ganko goć akana. Noakole lajam kana.

Adō uni koṛa sadomre dilte ar aćak dilteye menkeťa, Acha, tahē dareak khan in̄ h̄la.

Adō enkako galmaraokeťa adō bapla hoeyena, ar raj ƭika h̄ko emadea. Khan uni Turt̄a koṛa dō mit̄tań sańdasiye namkeťa ar mit̄tań piṭi khańda. Onako j̄ot̄qe tearante ać ƭhene d̄oh̄okeťa. Ar uni puńkhi sadom h̄o ać ƭhene d̄oh̄okedea.

Ar ona n̄indaṭeṭrege uni kal k̄arińańgin d̄oe ođok goṭena uni hoṛak m̄ũ hoṛ khon. Ar q̄t serma ad̄oe cahaṭeťa, uni raj j̄ome laḡiṭe lagayede kana. Khan sadomre dećeńte ona khilt̄e totkeṭ-taea, serma tuńgaue uđauk laḡiṭe h̄elede kante are lagayedete coṭrege bar pe dhaoe bhuńgraukedeā, ad̄oe n̄urena. In̄a tayom sadome aṛgo agukedeā. Kate adō rańiye d̄oh̄okedea.

Tahēń tahēńte raje menkeťa, In̄ren buđhi eńgań menaea. Uni ƭhen in̄ calaka, hiri aguyeań. Adō bana hoṛgekin sapraoena, ar bana hoṛ sadomregekin dećeńa, adō coṭteye uđau calaoena.

Bar raj disom paṛomkate uni buđhi ƭhenkin tiokk̄eťa. Adō j̄ot̄o duk kathae laiket̄e ađiye raśkayena. Adō boge jud̄a kupuli barakate ad̄oko j̄om n̄ũkeťa. J̄om barakate ad̄okin metadea, Īa go, ońteregebon tahēna. Adō j̄ot̄o sipahiko rūaṛ hećeńa. Ar ońdege raj oṛakre tahēń tahēńte ađi utaṛ acel pacelge hoeyentakoa, ar ađiko kis̄aṛena. Adō eńeko tahēyena.

¹⁷ What is here translated dragon, kal, is used about specially dangerous snakes, such as those kept by snake charmers.

¹⁸ Certain rajas get a sindur (red-lead) mark on their forehead as a kind of affirmation or 'coronation'. It is not a present day Santal custom.

¹⁹ What is here translated 'coll-sword', piṭi khańda, is not at present found among the Santals. I have heard told that they used such during the Santal rebellion in 1855, but have never succeeded in getting a reliable description of it. One old man described it as a kind of arrow 'mitrailleuse', another as a kind of boomerang; piṭi means 'coll' and is e. g. used about snakes colling themselves up.

²⁰ The queen is meant.

a dragon¹⁷ in her body. When he gets out, it is a tremendously big animal. When he opens his mouth, he gapes from the earth to the sky. He comes out through her nose. Therefore perhaps about one thousand kings have died. We tell you these things."

The young man then said, trusting in his horse and in himself and his own courage: "All right, if I can stay, I shall see about this."

After they had talked together as told, the marriage was celebrated; they also put the mark of kingship¹⁸ on his forehead. Turta now got hold of a pair of tongs and a coil-sword¹⁹. When he had provided himself with all this, he kept it with himself. The lame horse he also kept near himself.

That very night, the black dragon came out from the nose of that person²⁰. He opened his mouth so that it reached from the earth to the sky, and he commenced to chase the king. Then the king mounted his horse, removing the splinter, and the dragon saw him about to fly up to the sky, and he was chasing him, when the king cut him through two three times up there in the air, and the dragon fell down. Thereafter he brought his horse down. After this was done, he kept the queen.

After some time the king said: "My old mother is living. I am going to her, I want to see how she is." Both of them then made themselves ready for the journey, and they both mounted the horse, and he flew up into the air.

Having passed the countries of two kings they arrived at his mother's. When he had told of all his vicissitudes, she became very glad, and after having asked each other how all was with them, they ate and drank. After this was done, they said to her: "I say, mother, we shall live there in that country." All the soldiers then returned, and they remained there in the king's palace, and in the course of time they got an immense amount of wealth and property, and they became very rich. And so they lived there.

10. Miṭṭaṇ ṭanti koṛa reaṇ.

Sedae jōkheṇ, kathae, Jogesor ṇutuman miṭṭaṇ ṭanti koṛae taḥēkana. Uni dō ṭuargeye taḥēkana, aḥ eskargeae. Adōe hara juanen khan dō, setoṇ din jōkheṇ miṭṭaṇ gaḍa beḍare ṭarbuḥ ar khiṛuakoe roḥoeana. Adō kathae, aḍi baṛiḥ jōyentaea. Adō belek ḥoḥen khan dōe aḥriṇa, ar inātege anaje kiriṇ aḡujoṇa.

Adō ona takrege, kathae, miṭṭaṇ toyo dō ona khiṛuḡ jōme parkaṇena, adō dingeye jōmtaea. Adōe meṇa, Cele bhala noa dōko jōmettiṇa. Adōe oyoṇ baṛakeṭ dō, toyo paṇjae ṇel ṇamkeṭ. Adōe meṇkeṭa, Ho, nui toyo dōṇ paṣiyea. Adō kathae, paṣiye bēnaokette onae oḍaoketa. Adō kathae, miṭ din dōe paṣi goṭena. Adō paṣi akane ṇelkede khan, mutākanteye ṇir calao goṭena. Adō daleye meṇeṭ taḥēkan jōkheṇge uni toyo dōe meṇ goṭkeṭa, Hā hā! alom daleṇa, raebaramaṇ.

Adō uniye meṇkeṭa, Saṛigem raebaraṇa?

Adōe metadea, Hē, saṛigeṇ raebarama.

Khange saṛi adō bae dalledea, paṣi khone chaḍaokadea. Adō uni toyoe metadea, Adō ḥorreṇ jōm laḡaṭ miṭṭaṇ khiṛuḡ emaṇme. Nitge nāḥāk iṇ calao ḡoḍoka, Adō saṛi inai emade khan, unrege uni dōe calao ḡoṭena.

Adō kathae, calaoe calaoena dō, aḍi saṅgiṇ disome calaoena. Adō miṭṭaṇ raj naṅgrahae ṇamkeṭa. Adō rajak pēa ponea pukhri menakṭaea. Ar ona pukhri piṇḍhare dō emanteaḥ dareko roḥoe akata; maṭko ḥōko roḥoe akata. Adō ona maṭ dandhi talarege,

¹ This story shows several traces of being of foreign origin.

² Tanti is the name of a Hindu weaver caste.

³ The sweet melon is *Cucumis Melo*, L. The water-melon is very commonly cultivated in the Santal country. For hot-weather cultivation water is essential; consequently it must be near to where water is obtainable, as on river banks.

⁴ The Santali word means a snare. The Santals have various devices for catching or killing animals, also large ones.

⁵ It might be noted, that all regular marriages among the Santals are family arrangements. The two most concerned do not meet or fall in love with each other and so get married. Such may sometimes happen among the Santals, but is irregular.

10. THE STORY OF A TANTI BOY¹.

ONCE upon a time in the old days, people tell, there lived a tanti² boy called Jogesor. He was an orphan, quite alone by himself. When he had grown up, it so happened that he once, during the hot season, planted sweet melons and water-melons³ on the bank of the river, and he got an immense amount of fruit. As they commenced to ripen, he sold, and for the money he bought food for himself.

At that time, people tell, a jackal had got into the habit of eating his water-melons; he did so daily. "I wonder who it is," the boy said, "who is eating my fruits." When he looked well below the leaves, he saw the footprints of a jackal and said: "Oh, this jackal I shall snare." So he made a snare and set it. One day the jackal was caught in the snare⁴, and when the boy saw this, he quickly ran there with a thick stick. But just as he was going to strike him, the jackal called out to him: "Hold, hold! don't strike me. I shall arrange for you to get married⁵."

"Really," the boy said, "will you really get me a wife?"

"Yes, in very truth," the jackal replied, "I shall arrange for you to be married."

Consequently he did not beat him, but released him from the snare, whereupon the jackal said to him: "Now give me a water-melon that I may have something to eat on the way. I shall start now at once." And when he had given him this, he started.

The jackal went and went, he went until he reached a country very far away, and there he came to the capital. The king had three or four tanks⁶, and on the embankments of these tanks they had planted different trees; bamboo they had also planted⁷; and the jackal was sitting in the middle of that clump of bamboos.

⁶ See p. 34, note 5.

⁷ Bamboo is very commonly planted in the vicinity of tanks, but not close to the water, as the leaves when falling would be liable to fall into the water and pollute it.

kathae, uni toyo dōe durup akana. Ado raj orakrenko dō thari baṭi mañjao lagitko calak kana, ar raniko ar hoponeratko hō umok lagitko calak kana.

Ado un jōkhen, kathae, uni toyo dōe ror gotketa, Chi! nui dō cet lekan raj kanae? Inaregeko ija, arhō inaregeko joma. Chi! nui dō cet lekan raj kanae? Raj dō Jogesor rajge sanam khone bogea. Uni dō oka tharireye joma, ona dō ekkalteye gidikaka. Sona tharireye joma, ona dō ekkalteye gidikaka. Chi! nui dō cet lekan raj kanae?

Ado, kathae, noa kathage ghari ghariye roretā. Ado thari baṭi makñjaoko doko menketa, Okoe bañ okareye roret kan? Adoko bengēt açurket khan dō mat dandhi talare toyoe roror kanko ñel ñamkede. Adoko menketa, Ayo, nui toyo dō bejāe henostae roret dō! Bhala sari se naseye roretā. Noa katha dō rajbo laiaea.

Ado sari senkate rajko laiaaea, bañma, Okaren toyo cōñ ona pukhri piñḍha mat dandhi thene durup akana, ar nonkae roretā, Chi! nui dō cet lekan raj kanae? Inaregeye joma, inaregeye ija. Raj dō Jogesor raj. Sona tharireye joma, ar ona dō dingeye giḍi horaea. Nonkae roretā.

Ado uni raje menketa, Acha, do hohō aguyepe.

Ado kathae, hōr kolketkote uni toyo dō raj thenko hohō agukedeā. Ado raje menketa, Henda ya, toyo, am dōm oka disomren kana?

Ado uniye menketa, In dōñ aḍi sañgiñren kana.

Ado cet leka pukhri piñḍha thenem roret tahōkana, masē ona rorlem. Anjomtamañ. Ado kathae, oñḍeye rorlet lekageye rorketa. Khange raje menketa, Sarige noa katha dō khaṭigem roretā?

Adoe menketa, Khaṭigen roretā.

Ado raje menketa, Am dō cet lagat un sañgiñ khon notē dōm hec akana?

⁸ It is very common, that the metal utensils are taken down to a tank or similar place to be cleaned there.

⁹ The Santals are very particular in the matter here hinted at.

Those belonging to the king's house came to this place to scour⁸ their brass plates and cups, and the queen and her daughters also came there to bathe.

At such a time the jackal all at once called out: "Fie, what kind of a king is this? Here in this place they pass stool, and here in the same place they take food⁹. Fie! what kind of a king is this? King Jogesor is a king better than all others, The plate he is eating off he throws away at once. When he eats off a gold-plate, he throws that away at once. Fie! what kind of a king is this?"

He kept saying these words again and again. Those who scoured the plates and cups then said: "Where on earth is he, where is he speaking?" When they looked round, they caught sight of the jackal speaking, and said: "Oh mother, this jackal is speaking in an awfully contumelious way. Wonder whether he is speaking the truth or it is false. We shall tell the king of this."

They thereupon went to the king and told him: "A jackal from somewhere is sitting on the tank embankment near the clump of bamboos and is speaking like this: Fie, what kind of a king is this? They take food in this place, and in the same place they pass stool. King Jogesor is a king. He eats off a gold-plate, and he throws that away every day. So the jackal is speaking."

"Very well," the king said, "send for him, bring him here."

So they sent for the jackal and called him to the king's presence, and the king spoke: "Look here, you jackal, from which country do you come?"

"I am from a country very far away," the jackal replied.

"Please speak now in the same way as you were speaking on the tank embankment. I want to hear what you say." The jackal then spoke in the same way as he had spoken there, whereupon the king said: "Are you really quite sure about this?"

"I am speaking the truth," he replied.

"For what purpose have you come here from such a distance?" the king asked.

Ado toyoe menketa, Uni raj lagatge in do bahu name kol akadiña.

Ado raje menketa, Adom namketkoa se ban?

Ado toyoe menketa, Auriñ namkoa.

Ado rajren ho pe pon goten hoponerako tahēkantaea. Ado menketa, Bam nam akatko khan, inren hoponera menakkoa. Adom khusiako khan, ma nel thikkom.

Ado menketa, Mase ente, note hoho odokkom.

Ado sariko hoho odokketko khan do talaic kuriye bachaokede. Ado udukkede, banma, Nuiak kuriñ khusi akana. Ado, kathae, raebor hor iate adiko perakede. Ado jom barakateye menketa, Acha, ma durupjonpe. In do noa katha uniñ lai otoa.

Ado calaoente uni tanti korae laide, banma, Ma sapraokme. Bahu don hawatme. Ado ma sapraokme.

Khange uni do cet menakteye sapraoka? Aurigeye menketa, In don sapraogea. Ma onten pera laiakome, jemon ekkalte bapla reakbon logon goda.

Ado, kathae, ona kathae idi ruarketa, are metatkoa, Ma bapla reakbon logon goda.

Khange sari onten pera hoko menketa, Acha besge. Nele girawam kana, ma idime.

Ado menketa, Acha, den emanpe.

Khange sari girako emadea, ado idiketa. Arho pe pon mahā khangeye sen ruar gotena. Ado raje metae kana, Henda raj, bariatko do tinak ganle hijuka, mit isi, se bar isi, se mori isi, se tinakle hijuka? Ona kukli in doko kol akadiña.

Khange raj do menketa, Apeak khusi tinak cope hijuk.

¹⁰ See p. 10, note 3.

¹¹ In regular marriages a party will always follow the bridegroom to the house of the bride's parents where the actual ceremonies are performed. When the bride, after the marriage, is taken to her future home she is accompanied by a similar number of her own relatives. All the followers are feasted. When a large party is coming along with the bridegroom, it is understood that the number shows his importance and wealth, and it is also taken as given that the bridegroom is prepared to feast as many of the other side as he is bringing with him.

"The king," the jackal replied, "has sent me to find a wife for himself."

"Have you found any or not?" the king asked.

"Not as yet," the jackal replied.

Now the king had three or four daughters, so he said: "If you have not found any, I have daughters of my own. If you like them, see whom you think suitable."

"Please then," the jackal said, "call them out here."

When they had called them out, he selected the middle one. He pointed to her and said: "I am pleased with this girl." Thereupon they entertained him in grand style on account of his being marriage-broker. When they had feasted, he said: "Very well, you remain, please. I am going to tell him of this."

The jackal then went and told the tanti boy: "Please, make yourself ready. I have found a wife for you. So please make yourself ready."

Now what did he have that he should make himself ready? So he said heedlessly: "I am ready. Please, tell the friends on that side that they at once fix a day for the marriage."

The jackal then took word back to them, saying: "Please, let us fix a day for the marriage now."

The friends on that side then also said: "All right, that is good. See, here we are giving you the marriage-knots¹⁰; take them along."

"Very well, please give me," the jackal replied.

Then they gave him the marriage-knots and he took them away. After some three or four days he came back again, and said to the king: "Pray, king, about how many shall we come with the bridegroom¹¹? one score, or two scores, or five scores, or how many are we to come? They have sent me to inquire about this."

"As many as you please," the king replied, "any number may come."

They are rather particular that the feasting expences should be the same on both sides.

Ado toyoe menketa, Pase ente adi utarle heçlen khan pase bam daram dareale, onateh kuli bujhau idiyetmea.

Adoe metadea, Acha, unrege nãhãk in tojbijpea, tinaç in daram dareapea mente.

Ado enka menkatege uni toyo doe sen ruarena. Ado neçda din tioken khan, toyo do uni korae metadea, Ma ðomko, kahaçko, pałkiko namme, bariatokbon calaka.

Khange uni korã do pera hõ banukkotaete onako hõ bae jurau dareak kana. Khange uni toyoge onako hõe nam juhruketa. Ar bariatko do ina dhara dhairien toyo ar kõke nõgotaketkoa. Metatkoa, Ape do ma disakape niã din hilok do hani phalna disomren raj then bhøj jombon calaka.

Khange sari onko hõ adiko raska gotena. Ado ina din hilok do jotogeko hajirena. Ar uni toyoge pałkiko, kahaçko jotoe namkefkote bariatko kalak kana. Ado uni raebar toyoe menketa, Ape joto kõk do toyo deare deçkate calaktabonpe. Nonkakatebo senlen khan, raj do nãhãk khube manqbona. Ado sari oneye metatko lekage joto horko calak kana.

Adoko tiok nõkket khan, uni toyo doe nir lahayena raj laiae laçit. Ado seçerenteye metae kana, Henda raj, tinaç ganle hijuka? Ma oðokokte bariatko do nelkom. Unak bam cahao khan doñ ruarkoa. Ar heç seçerlen khanko, ar unre ruarko do lajao paçagea. Ma oðokokte nel hořkom; eken aswariageko hijuk kana.

Ado sari raj do oðokenteye koyokketko do, bañgeye nel muçat dareatko. Miř qos khon hõ bharti sañgin hãbiç menakko, ar toyo

¹² Ðom, a low Hindu caste; one of their occupations is to furnish the music, i. e. especially the drumming at marriages. Whenever a marriage party passes a village, they make a tremendous din, beating their drums. During the ceremonies and at the feasting, they also keep the drumming going, often incessantly.

¹³ See p. 42, note 4.

¹⁴ See p. 32, note 1.

¹⁵ The Paddy-bird (in Santali kõk, a name formed in imitation of the sound of the call of this bird) is very common. It is a kind of heron, the kind here men-

"You see," the jackal said, "perhaps if we came in a very large number, perhaps you will not be able to receive us; therefore I am asking you to take word to those others."

"Very well," the king replied, "when you come, then I shall estimate you and see how many of you I can receive."

After this talk the jackal returned. When the day fixed came, the jackal said to the boy: "Please get hold of Doms¹², Kahars¹³ and palanquins¹⁴; we shall start for the marriage."

The young man had no friends, so he was unable to provide any. The jackal then procured these also, and to come along in the marriage party he invited the jackals and the paddy-birds¹⁵ of the neighbourhood. He said to them: "Remember, please, that on such and such a day we are to go to the king of that country to partake of a feast."

Then these also became very glad, and on the fixed day they all presented themselves. The jackal provided palanquins and carriers, in fact everything, and they started for the marriage. The marriage-broker jackal then said: "You paddy-birds, all of you mount the backs of the jackals and proceed. If we proceed in this way, the king will presently do much honour to us." Then they really did as the jackal told them, and they all went along.

When they had nearly reached the place, the jackal ran ahead to inform the king. When he arrived, he said to him: "Pray, king, about how many are we to come? Please come out and have a look at the marriage party. If you don't wish for so many, I shall send some back. To send them back after they have come, would be a great shame. Please come out and have a look at them quickly; only mounted people are coming."

The king came out and had a look at them, he was absolutely unable to see the end of them. They filled the place up to more

tioned (there are several species) being entirely white, except for its legs and beak. They very frequently follow the cattle, catching grasshoppers and the like⁸ that fly up when disturbed by the movements of the cattle. As a rule they are seen in great flocks.

9 — Inst. f. saml. kulturforskning.

cetanre kōkko ap akante pondgeko hēlok kana. Khange raj dō hēltegeye haharayenteye metadea, Do ruar adhikakome. Unak hōr dō qhōn daram darelepea, ar unak dō kulān hō banuktiāna.

Khange uni toyo dō atra hōrreye nīr daramketkoteye metatkoa, Mēn, mēnge ruarpe. Raje mēnketa, Unak hōr dō qhōn daram darelepea, mage ruarkakome. Onate ape dōn ruarefpea. Ado kathae, eṇḍe khonge kōk aswariako doko ruarena; ado enko Kahar, Dōm, enkogeko hec seterena. Ado raje mēnketa, Bariatko dō jotogem ruarkatkoa? Thorā thuri dō bam agu darakoa?

Ado toyoe mēnketa, Onko doko mēnketa, Calao khan dō jotogele calaka, ar baṅkhan jotogele ruara. Adom hōr dōle calaka ar adom hōr dōle ruara, noa dō cet leka? Onko ruar hōr reak mon dō nāhāk thōren khatōktakoa. Ado onkako mēnkete jotogeko ruarena. Ale nēkē nināk hōrgele hecena.

Ado ināk hōrgeko daramketkote bapla hoeyantakoa. Ado ninda doko bhōjketa. Ado khub bhage sebel sebelakko utuketa. Ado auri bhōj jomrege uni tanti kōra dōe sikhaukae kana. Metae kanae, E ya, daka jom nāhākko idimea. Unre nāhāk barea pēa utuko emoka, mēnkhan jōtō barē jomme, hinā miṭ dhao, nḥiā miṭ dhao. Onka miṭ dhaotege jōtō jomme, ar baṅkhan am dō orakre miṭṭān utu jom hewate miṭṭāngem jomkea, — se dō baṅ, mēnkhan miṭ dhaote jotogem jōma. Ar daka jom bara tayom nāhāk pan khiliko emama. Ado alom ataṇa. Tinre ṭakako cuputama, unre ona pan khili dōm ataṇa. Ma noako katha disakam ar onka kamime, tōbē ɛna raj hōpon doko metama.

Ado kathae, tisre hō onka sebel utu baṅ jom hewa ado sebel utui nāmket khan, khub jom bae jomketa? Khange thōe putiyente

¹⁶ The distance mentioned, one kōs, is generally equal to two English miles, in other parts it may be less or more.

¹⁷ There may be a formal reception, but necessarily not so elaborate as the farewell-bidding.

¹⁸ See p. 76, note 24.

¹⁹ The Santals buy their wives; it is, of course, no regular sale but something to symbolize that the husband is the lord and proprietor henceforth. Here the husband apparently is to receive money; this is the custom among certain classes of Hindus.

than two miles¹⁶ away, and as the paddy-birds were mounted on the jackals, all were looking white. The king was astonished at the sight and said to the jackal: "Please, send half of them back. I am unable to receive so many of you, and I have not sufficient provisions for so many either."

The jackal then ran to meet them half-way and called out to them: "Stop, stop! turn back! The king has said: 'I am unable to receive so many people; do please, turn them back.' Therefore I am turning you back." The mounted paddy-birds then went back from that place, and the Doms and the Kahars alone came. The king then said: "Did you turn the whole marriage party back? Will you not bring a few along with you?"

The jackal replied: "They said: If we go, we shall go all of us, otherwise we shall all of us return. That some of us should go and others turn back, how would that be? Those who returned would become very downhearted and hurt. Having said this, they all of them returned. We have come as many as you see here."

They then formally received¹⁷ these; the marriage was celebrated, and at night they had a feast. They had prepared some excellent and most savoury curry. Before they sat down to eat, the jackal gave the tanti boy some advice and said to him: "Look here, my lad, they will presently come and take you off to eat. They will certainly give you two three kinds of curry; eat all, now this kind, then that kind alternatively. In this way eat of all at the time; otherwise, as you are accustomed to eat only one course of curry at home, you might eat only one; that is not the way; but you must eat of all at the time. After you have eaten, they will offer you a quid of pan¹⁸. Don't take any. When they put the money into your hand¹⁹, then only you shall take the quid of pan. Please keep these things in your mind and act accordingly; then only they will call you a prince."

Now he had never in his life been accustomed to eat such savoury curry, so when he got this splendid food, didn't he eat?

hinda dōe ciḍirketa; kicrićko saname thoḱo bōḱoketa. Khange toyo dō cekate cōe disakede, ciḍirketae mente. Adōe mēnketa, Durre! nui dōe lajaokidiña. Ar sē joto hoḱo japiḱ akata. Khange toyo dō ona narak dō onko gitić hoḱgeye joḱ idiaḱkoa ḱeḱe ḱeḱere. Ar uni koḱa dōe um ocokedeā are jal saphakeḱtaea. Arhōkin gitićena.

Adō sim rak khange, kathae, uni toyo dō lahategeye beret hoḱenteye mēneta, Okare baḱ moela moelage sō kan? Adōe bas baraket khan dō onko rajren peḱa geye metako kana, Ape senge sō kana.

Adō saḱi setak khangeko ḱelket dō, onkoak ḱeḱe ḱhenak kicrićre dō laḱkao akan. Khange toyo dō rukhete poḱonketa: Iḱo eḱgate tisre utu dakako ḱel akawana? Salasreko ḱawan khanko jom ciḱirena! Adō eḱe boḱe baḱayena.

Ayup khange biḱa hoeyente uni ḱanti oḱakteko calak kana. Adō calak calakte onko lumti baretko dōko laḱgayena. Adō uni toyoko metae kana, Okor tin saḱgiḱre? Raj oḱak dōbon tioḱeta?

Adōe metakoa, Hape, aḱribon tioga. Arhō thoḱa saḱgiḱko calaoen khan, arhōko kuliyede kana, Okor tinrebo tioḱet kana?

Adō tale bagwane ḱel ḱamket khan dōe udukako kana, Hane ḱelpe tale bagwaḱ. Ona dō nui rajak bagwan kangea. Ona bagwan talarege rajak oḱak dō menaka. Dolanko dō mareyente hendeḱgea, onate saḱgiḱ khon dō baḱ ḱel ḱhikoḱa.

Adō kathae, calak calakte ona tale bagwan hōko tioḱketa, adō oḱakge bako ḱel ḱamet kan. Adōko metae kana, Okor oka ḱhen raj oḱak dō?

²⁰ What is here described, is a fairly common sequence to feasting among the Santals, their daily diet being so plain and poor that any deviation is liable to have disastrous results.

²¹ See above note 17.

²² See above note 11. When the bride leaves for her husband's home, she is accompanied by a party, among these some old woman, who is to give her some final and formal advice.

Consequently he got indigestion and commenced to purge²⁰ during the night and dirtied all his clothes. Somehow or other the jackal became aware of his purging and said: "Oh my! this fellow has brought shame on me." Now all people were asleep. The jackal then went and daubed the people lying there with the filth in their hind-quarters. Thereupon he made the boy bathe, and he licked him and cleaned him, and both of them lay down to sleep again.

At cock-crow the jackal got up first and called out: "Where is it smelling so badly?" When he had sniffed round, he said to the guests of the king: "It is your way it's smelling."

Then really, when it became morning, they saw that something stuck to their clothes behind. And the jackal started scolding: "Those unspeakable ones, dash it, have they ever seen curry and rice? When they got it for the first time, they ate so they got diarrhoea." So nothing more was done in this matter.

In the evening, after they had been ceremonially bidden farewell to²¹, they started for the tanti boy's house. Walking and walking along, the followers and relatives of the bride²² became tired and said to the jackal: "Where is it, how far away? Are we reaching the king's palace?"

"Wait a bit," he says, "we are still a little way off." When they had come a little further, they asked him again: "Where is it, when are we reaching there?"

When they caught sight of a palm-tree²³ grove, he pointed it out to them and said: "Look over there, there is a palm-tree grove. That is a grove belonging to this king. The king's palace is in the middle of that grove. The mansions have become dark from age; therefore it is not possible to see them distinctly from afar."

Walking on, they finally reached the palm-tree grove, but did not see any houses anywhere. So they said to the jackal: "Where? why, where is the king's palace?"

²³ The most common palm tree in the Santal country is the Palmyra palm, *Borassus flabelliformis*, L.; it has very large fan-shaped leaves. It is very common on tank embankments.

Ado ona bagwan bhitirege uni tanti kora do tale dhoakoteye oraċ akat tahēkana. Ona oraċgeye uduk daporatkoa, Ado ona kumba oraċko nēket khan do, aċiko khae khabrokena. Arko mēpenena, Durre! nui toyo do aċi bariċe eċeketbon do. Porċartegeye bapla ocoketbona. Paċhilrebo baċaele khan hutēn, oċobo rēben atarlēna. Nit do cetbo ceka dāreaka? Ado toyoko metadea, Cedak nonka dōm eċeketlea? Mēketam, Sona thārire dākae jōma ar ona sākri thāri dōe giċi horaea.

Ado toyoe mēketa, Onka ma ba cōn mēn akat. In dōn mēnleta, sakam patrareye jōma ar ona do dingeye giċi horaea. In do nonkaŋ lai akata. Adope khusiyen khan cet in mēna? Ado eŋēh baplatatpea.

Khangeko mēketa, Ma ya, sabete humage ma! Ado onkako mēnlet khangē uni toyo dōe dārketa. Ado lumti baretko hō ēn hilokgeko ruārena. Uni kūrī dō oŋdegeko baċi oċoadea. Ar ruārsenkate noako jōtō katha raj ar rāniko laiatkina. Khangē unkin hō aċikin bhabnayēna, adōkin mēketa, Nit do cetbo cekaea? Chaċa chaċikin hō tho abore dō cōlōn bānukan. Mabon āgu mīfkinte nōŋdegebon dōhōkina.

Ado Kahārko pālkikoko hāmketkote ar bar pē hōrko kolketkote ako thēnko āgu ruārkotkina. Ar āsulok lagat tara nakha disomko ematkina.

Ado oŋē onkate uni kora dōe bāhuadea. Ado ona khirūāko hō okayen cōn thikan bānukan.

Ado oŋē cabayēna katha dō, in marāngea.

²⁴ A distinctly Hindu trait. Divorce is very common among the Santals. Strangely enough, it is valid for this world, but in the next the man who has married a spinster will get this one there to be his partner whether he has divorced her or not.

In the middle of that palm-tree grove the tanti boy had erected a hut of palm-leaves. He showed them that wretch of a house. When they saw that booth, they became very downhearted, and said to each other: "Oh dear, this jackal has deceived us something terrible. He has tricked us into this marriage. If we had known about this beforehand, we should never have agreed to it, no never. But what can we do now?" They then said to the jackal: "Why did you deceive us in this way? You said: He eats rice of a gold plate, and he throws the used plate away every time it is used."

"No," the jackal replied, "I did not say so. I said, that he eats off a leaf plate, and he throws that away every time he has used it. That is what I have said. When you were pleased, what was I to say? So I had you married, you see."

Then they cried: "Do, do catch him and give him a hiding!" As soon as they said this, the jackal ran away, and the followers and relatives of the bride also returned home that same day; they left the girl there. When they reached home, they told the king and the queen all this. Then these also became very grieved and said: "What shall we do now? With us it is not the custom to dissolve a marriage²⁴ either. Let us bring them here to us, and then we shall keep them both here."

So they fetched carriers and palanquins and sent these with a couple of men and brought the two back to themselves, and to support themselves they gave them a strip of the country.

In this way the jackal procured a wife for the boy. What became of the water-melons there is no report of.

There the story is ended; it is thus much.

11. Mittaṇ ṭuṇṇa gidraṇ re aṇ.

Sedae jugre kathae, mitṭaṇ hoṛe tahēkana; uni hoṛ dō miṭ gele-kin gidraṇwan khangeye begarena, ar uni dō kuṛi gidraṇi tahēkantakina. Adō besge din nirbhā dō calak kan tahēkantakina. Adō uni kuṛi gidraṇ hōe nīr keṭeṭena.

Adō miṭ din ayuṇ jōkhenkin galmarao kana; adō emanteak cetko cōṇ galmarao galmaraoṭe uni oṛak hoṭeṭ dōe mēnkeṭa, Arhō hoṛmōteak dō basawadiṇa.

Adō uni herel hoṛe mēnkeṭa, Cekatem baḍae kana?

Adō uniye mēnkeṭa, Ente nōkōe bar cando din baṇ nēl akata.

Adō inākin galmaraokeṭ tayom janié miṭ hapta gan hoe akan, khangē uni herel hoṛ dō acōkge biṇ gerteye goṭena. Adō khangē uni maejiu dō aḍi baṛice bhabnayena, siṇ saṭuṇgeye raga uni

¹ This story is a vivid picture of life as it may be met with among the Santals, when certain features of pure folktale nature are eliminated. It touches on many sides of Santal customs or rather communal rules and practices.

² It is looked upon as good for the members of a family to live together as long as possible; it lends strength to the family. It is, however, fairly common among the people that the property is divided between the male members, when all or some of them have grown up and have married, even before the father's death. They love independence, and it naturally often happens that the strange element brought in through marriage makes it desirable to separate. The division is made in the following way: all land is divided into equal parts, one for the father, if he is living, and one for each son. The cattle is divided in the same way, the only difference being that daughters get a calf each, as it is called, at the time; it is generally a cow. Married daughters do not get anything, as they have already got one at the time of their marriage. Other property is also equally divided between the male members of the family. It is all done with the assistance of the village headman and people, especially as regards the cultivated land. This must be so to give the whole a legal stamp; the village community must be a party to all such transactions. When the division is completed, the parents will generally live with one of the sons, frequently the youngest one, the mother's pet. On the death of the father, his share is again divided between all the sons, although the widow is often permitted to cultivate this land until her death.

11. The Story of an Orphan Boy¹.

ONCE upon a time in the old days, people tell, there was a man; they had got one child, when the property was divided², and he set up a separate household. Their child was a girl³. Life was going well with them, and the girl also grew to be strong on her legs⁴.

One evening they were talking together; they were talking about this, that and the other, and in the course of their conversation the wife said: "It has again temporarily taken up its abode in my body⁵".

"How do you know?" her husband asked.

"Well," she replied, "because I have not seen⁶ anything for two months."

About one week after they had had this conversation it so happened, that the husband suddenly died from a snake-bite. The woman felt terrible grief; she wailed⁷ all day in affectionate

³ Girls are debarred from inheriting land. They are supposed to get married and go to their husbands' homes. In case of a family with daughters only, the Santals have found a way of circumventing the otherwise rigid rules of inheritance. It is also due to them to say that they are trying to better the position of their womenkind. If the first child had been a boy, there would have been no possibility for a story like the present. In that case, he would have been the natural heir. For further information with regard to the position of the Santal woman the reader is referred to the writer's paper in the *Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society*, 1916, Some Remarks on the Position of Women among the Santals.

⁴ The Santal expression is used about children some two years old, lit. strong enough to run about.

⁵ One of several ways of expressing that a woman is with child. The Santali word means to lodge, stay for a time.

⁶ 'See' is the common way of referring to the menses.

⁷ Women give expression to their grief through wailing and lamentation, some words, more or less stereotype, being sung or chanted to a certain tune. It may be heartrending to hear a woman wailing, generally standing somewhere away from the house, turned towards the fields or the forest.

uiharte; oka dō daka hō bhabnate bae jōma; dine rateye guni bhabika ar Candogeye nūmea. Mēnae, O hae! Cando bōnga, cēt baliñ ghaṭikette aliñ dōm jor bhaṅakefliñ? O hae Cando, bārsiñ gan lagat aliñ dōm juri pāriṭefliñ dō! O hae Cando, iṅgem andak ocokidiñ dō! O hae, Cando bōnga, chatar umul reak rup dō cekate bañ ṇel ṇamtae?

Nonka uni aiṃai dō ṇum ṇumteye homor halaña. Are mēna, E Cando bōnga, hereliñem idikedetiña; herel bōdol koṛa gidṛa baṛe emañme. Oka iñak kukhire basa akan, koṛa gidṛa baṛe hoe ococetiñme; iñ dō ini gidṛa ṇelte jiviñ tētiña. Adō nonka dinge uni maejiu dō koṛa gidṛa lagit Cando ṭhene aroṇjoka.

Adō kathae, turui eae cando hoeyen khan, uni maejiu dō hoṛmote menaktae, ona dō ṇelentaea. Ar onko eṛveltēṭteko ar bahōñhartēṭteko mēnkeṭa, Nui phalna eṅgat dō ya, okoe tuluć cōñ menae. Ṇelpe, uni phalna apat taḥēkan jōkḥen dō besgeye taḥēkana. Adō uni mae goćen; adō okoe nui dōe laćkedea? Dhorage nui dō okoe tuluć cōñ menae; onatege herel dō aćtegeye jōmkedea; nui kangeae jōma dō. Eṅgate ma noako cij baṣut dō sanambon reṇjea, ar uni kuṛi gidṛa hō abo ṭhenbon aguyea.

Adō kathae, onka mēnkate bogeteko ruḥēṭkedea, ar jōṭo cij baṣutko rećkedea. Ar uni maejiu dōe lai gujuk kana, mēnetae,

⁸ See p. 68, note 11. The lamentations do not, as a rule, make any appeal, but only state the loss and personal feelings. The appeal here made to Chando is not, however, impossible. The idea of a Supreme Being is always present with the Santals, and there are several examples of Santals making direct invocations to Him. In their most solemn oaths Chando or Ṭhakur or Siñ bōnga, all names for the same, is referred to. Santal women are not permitted to participate directly in religious service; but I do not think that this would affect any proceeding like the one here described.

⁹ These words are very commonly heard in lamentations over a dead husband. The husband is the protecting and shadowing shelter.

¹⁰ See above note 3. A boy is supposed to support his mother; her rights rest with him. Even as a babe he is a kind of protector.

¹¹ See p. 20, note 3.

remembrance of him. Sometimes she could not even take food for grief; day and night she was filled with anxious thoughts, and she called on Chando⁸ saying: "Alas! Chando boŋga, what had we two sinned that thou hast separated us by taking him away? Alas! Chando, only for a couple of days didst thou join us together! Alas! Chando, thou hast thrown me into trouble! Alas! Chando boŋga, the form of my shadowing canopy⁹, why shall I not see that any more?"

In this way the woman enumerated her griefs and wailed, and she said: "O Chando boŋga, thou tookst my husband away; instead of my husband do give me a boy¹⁰! What has taken up its temporary abode in my womb, do make that become a boy for me! Then, by seeing this child, I shall keep my soul in patience." Every day the woman in this way implored Chando to get a boy.

When she was in her sixth or seventh month, it was to be seen that she was with child, and her several brothers-in-law said: "This mother of so-and-so¹¹ must be living with somebody, who knows who. Remember, when the father of so-and-so was living, she was well¹². Now he is dead, so who has made her pregnant? Surely this woman is living with somebody, who knows who; therefore she herself has eaten her husband; she is the cause of his death. Dash it, we shall take all the goods and property¹³ away from her; the girl¹⁴ we shall also take and keep with us."

Having said this, they abused her badly and took all her goods and property away from her by force. The woman assured them

¹² A common expression for a woman who is not with child, just as the opposite 'to be spoilt' is used about a girl, especially unmarried, who has been impregnated.

¹³ See above, note 2. The expression especially covers cultivated land and cattle.

¹⁴ When a man dies leaving only minors, it is customary for the brothers of the dead person to take these into their houses, at the same time taking over the property and cultivating the land until the minors grow up, when they are to have the whole back. What is here done, would have been in order if they had provided for the widow, i. e., had taken her into their house also. This they absolve themselves from doing by denying the legitimacy of the posthumous child.

Baṇa, baba, jāhāe dosra hoṛak dō baṇ kana; apat tahēkanre bar cando reak tahēadiṇ tahēkana. Adoko metaṇ kana, baṇma, okoe reak kan cōṇ; ar baṇkhan dosra hoṛak dō baṇ kana. Adoko rejeṇ kan khać, ceť in mēna? Noa dō Candogeye bicartabona.

Ado enre hō bako bataolet khan dō sarike reć idikedegea; ado ina oṛaktet dō bako otorleta, ado ina oṛakrege uni maejiu dōe tahēyena.

Ado kathae, uniak duk saset harkhet Candoe ṇelkettaete jemone menleta, koṛa gidṛa baṛe emaṇme, ado sari din tioken khan, koṛa gidṛageye hoeyentaea, ado uni maejiu dō aḍiye raṣkayena. Adoe menketa, Cando inak rake aṇjomkettiṇa, jemōn in menleta, temonge Cando inak sanae puraukettiṇa; Candoe sarhaokok ma! E Cando, nitok dō inak jivigem rarećkettiṇa; arhō, Cando boṅga, nui gidṛa hara burukaetiṇme.

Ado kathae, taheṇ tahente uni gidṛa dōe hara buruyena. Ado uni gidṛai mēna, Henda ayo, in baba dōe okayena?

Khange uni engattet dōe rak gotketa, are metadea, Am baba dō, beṭa, hoṛmōrem tahēkanrege biṇe gerkedeteye goćena.

Ado uni gidṛai menketa, E ayo, alom raga; inṅe am doṇ aśulmea; apuṇ baṇugic khan dom cekaea? In ṇelte am dō jivi tentam.

Khange engattet, uni gidṛa reak bud aṇjomkateye haharayena, are menketa, Candoe nui gidṛa dōe bud ocoyede kana. Ado uni maejiu dō siṇ saṭup Cando thengeye dohae akae tahena. Ar jāhāeko then nalha tumale calaka, khubgeye nama ar nārā hō sanamko uni dō khugbeko nārāwaea; ar kōkoe hō jāhā sengeye calak, uni dō baṅko baṇea, emaegeako; onkate unkin dō bakin reṇgejoka.

Longy nṛakul
 15 The literal meaning of the Santali words is something like 'speaking die', often used about persistent assertion of a statement.

16 It might be noted, that the inanimate construction is used in this passage.

17 *Lit.* 'cooled my soul'.

18 The translation is literal. Chando is considered as acting directly.

in the most solemn way¹⁵, saying: "No, sirs, no never; it does not belong to anybody else; when the father was yet alive, I had been with child for two months. And they say it¹⁶ is somebody else's; but it is not anybody else's. If they take all away from me by force, what can I say? Chando will judge between us in this matter."

As they, in spite of all, did not listen to her, they took all away from her by force. They did not pull down her house, though; they left that, and the woman continued to live in the old house.

Now, people tell, Chando looked to her sorrow and misery and affliction, and, in accordance with what she had asked: 'give me a boy', when the time came, she really got a boy and became very glad. She said, "Chando has heard my cry. In accordance with what I asked, just so Chando has fulfilled my wish. Chando be praised! O Chando, thou hast comforted¹⁷ me! Now again, O Chando, make this child grow up¹⁸ for me."

Days passed, and the child grew up. The child sometimes asked: "Mother, what has become of my father?"

His mother then cried and said: "When I was carrying you in my body, my son, a snake bit your father, so he died."

"Don't cry, mother," the child said; "I shall support you. As my father is no more, what will you do? Remember me¹⁹ and control yourself."

When his mother heard how intelligent her son was, she was astonished and said: "Chando it is who is making this child intelligent." The woman was continually and all day invoking Chando. And when she went to somebody or other to work for wages or to glean, she always got good pay, and all left abundant ears for her to glean. Also if she went anywhere to beg, they did not refuse to give her; they were sure to give. In this way these two did not suffer hunger.

¹⁹ *Lit.* 'seeing me, keep your soul pressed down'.

Ar uni maranié kuṛi gidṛa hō nuiye hoeyen torarege nondege arhōe heé ruarena. Ado unkin gidrage oraḱre dōkin tahēna, ar engattet dō onte nōte se tumal tosaṇe daṛana. Ar aḱi khatīr monteko tahēna, cet hō bako bhabna baṛaka. Ado simko sukrikoko juṛau baṛaketkoa, ado enkoko aḱriṇkate merom bhiḱikoko juṛau-ketkoa; ado onkoko baḱ biritketko khan, saṇḱi dō gayako dōhōketkoa, ar merom sukri hō kuḱu dōko baḱhiā ocoketkoa, ar merom bhiḱi hō boda dō khaṣiketkoteko harayen khanko aḱriṇketkoa.

Ado ṭakako dōhō jarwaket khan, engattet dōe menketa, Iā beṭa, noa ṭakate dō gaibon kiriṇjoṇa; phetār mlhūbon kiriṇkoa.

Ado uni koṛa gidṛa hō, kathae, harayen reak katha kana noa dō. Ado unre uni koṛae menketa, Henda ayo, cet lekan phetārbon kiriṇkoa?

Ado engattete menketa, Iā beṭa, menako, kathae, oḱoetakko aḱriṇe, ado kilriṇ hōre udukam jōkhen uni phetāre ié gotketa menkhan, ona dō aḱi bhagana; onkanko dō, kathae, coṛ damte hōko hataokogea; onkanko dō, kathae, oraḱ duarko rophaea, aḱiko baḱ godoka. Ar baṅko ijre hō, kathae, onkanko dō ḱaṭam ṇelettaea, oḱoetakre are goten ḱaṭa menaktae, tōbē onkanko hōko bogegea; enko hō inā bhēd kangea. Ar onkanko aṛim ṇamko dhābié dō ḱam kiriṇdeea; inā khon dosra lekanko dō bam kiriṇede kana.

Ado uni koṛae menketa, Iā ayo, eṇḱekhan gai kiriṇ dō inḱen calaka; onkanko aṛim ṇamko dhābié dō baṇ ruāra; tinreṇ ṇamkoa ado onko kiriṇleko eṇḱe in ruāṛ hijuka.

Ado engattete meneta, Baṇa, beṭa, noakorege hapenbo kiriṇkoa.

Ado uni koṛae menketa, Baṇa, ayo, gai kiriṇ dō inḱen calaka.

Ado aḱiye jidket khane metadea, Acha, ma eṇḱekhan kiriṇ agukom.

Ado khangē atoren hōre metako kana, Delabon ho, gai kiriṇ goroṇṭabonpe. Ado cetko cōko aṇḱuṇ baṛaketge, oḱoe hō bako

The eldest child, the girl, also came back, when this boy was born. The two children remained at home, and the mother went here and there to glean. They lived with an easy mind; they had no cares at all. They gradually acquired fowls and pigs; when these had grown to a fair size, they sold them and acquired goats and sheep. When these had multiplied, they made the cocks into capons and kept them, and the boars they castrated, and the he-goats and rams they also castrated, and when they had grown sufficiently, they sold them.

When they had got together some money, their mother said: "I say, my lad, for this money we shall buy a cow. We shall buy a heifer."

Now this was something that was said when the boy had grown up. The boy then said: "Listen, mother, what kind of a heifer shall we buy?"

"O, my lad," his mother replied, "people say that, if at the time when the seller shows the buyer the animal, the heifer lets something drop, that is very fortunate; such ones people buy even at a very high price; such ones keep house and property in order; they also quickly multiply, people tell. If they do not let anything drop, you must look at their teeth, such who have nine teeth, they are also good; these also have the same quality. Until you find one of this kind, you are not to buy any; you are not to buy any of another quality."

The boy then said: "Well mother, then I shall go to buy a cow; until I find such a one, I shall not come back; only when I find such a one and buy her, I shall come home."

"No, my son," his mother replied, "not so; we shall some day buy one here in this neighbourhood."

"No mother," the boy said, "I shall go and buy a cow."

But when he persisted, she said: "All right then, buy and bring one."

The boy then spoke to the village people, saying: "Come along with me somebody, help me to buy a cow." But they pleaded some excuse or other; no one was willing to go. Then he spoke

rëben kana. Ado kakat goṅgottēkoe metako kana, Delabon, baba, gəi kirin̄ goṛoan̄pe, kirin̄ aḡuaṇabon. Ado onko hō bako rëben kan.

Ado kathae, miṭ oraḱ kamarko tahēkana, ado onkoe metako kana, Delabon ho, gəi kirin̄ goṛoan̄pe. Eṅgate ato hoṛ in̄ riāu barayetkoā, okoe hō bako rëben kana; ar kakaṇ goṅgoṇtekoṇ riāuetkoā, onko hō bako rëben kana. Jom̄ nūiak̄ do in̄ge nāhāk̄ in̄ emok̄ do, en̄ hō eṅgate bako rëben kana. Nit do hoṛ menaḱ bako baṣutaṇ kana; jāhā hiloḱ hapen̄ in̄ hoṛ hartalen̄ khan, unre do aḡi peṛako todoka; nit do cele hō bako baṣutaṇ kana. Ado kamare metae kana, Cele ho, amem goṛoḱiṇa se ohō?

Ado uni kamare mēnkeṭa, Acha, okoe hō bako goṛoam kan khan, in̄in̄ goṛoama.

Adoe mēnkeṭa, Acha bogege, eṇḡekhan gapa do jomakkoṇ juṛauletalan̄ge; meaṇ do aḱa aḡi sim rakrelaṇ calaka.

Ado uniye mēnkeṭa, Acha, ma eṇḡekhan juṛaulem.

Ado uni koṛae mēnkeṭa, Mēn aḱa alom eṛeṇa.

Adoe mēnkeṭa, Acha, ohōṇ eṛemea.

Ado kathae, in̄a neṇḡa dinre do gəi kirin̄kin calaoena. Ado kathae, gaige bakin̄ ṇam ṭhik dareako kan. Ado onka kuli kulitege aḡi saṅgin̄kin calao idiyena. Miṭ raj disom parom̄kin calaoena, ado un saṅgin̄re eneḱ, kathae, miṭṭaṇkin̄ ṇamkedeā. Uni gaikin̄ ṇele jokhen̄ do bae ic̄leṭa; ado sap̄katekin̄ ṇelkede do, are goṭen̄ ḡaṭa menak̄tae, ar maraṇ utaṛ pheṭāre ṇeloḱ kana. Ado uni koṛae mēnkeṭa, Nuigelaṇ hataoea.

Ado kamare mēneṭa, Baṇ, nui do balaṇ hataoea; nōḱōeye ḡaṭa puṛaueṇa, eṇhō bae pal akana. Nui do baḡlāge coṇ ceṭ coṇ.

Ado uni koṛae mēnkeṭa, Acha, baḡlāre hō cetre hō nuigelaṇ hataoea.

²⁰ There is no common word for uncle, and the text here speaks of the younger and elder brothers of the father, who each have separate designations.

²¹ One rupee is one fifteenth part of a pound sterling. The haggling here described is very much like what daily occurs.

to his uncles²⁰, saying: "Come with me, father, help me to buy a cow; we want to buy me one." But they would not consent to go either.

Now there was one blacksmith family living there, and he spoke to them: "Please come with me, help me to buy a cow. Dash it, I am calling upon the village people to go with me; but not one of them is willing. And I am calling upon my uncles, and they too, they are not villing. I am, of course, standing the travelling expenses; still they are not willing, dash it. Now they don't estimate me as a human being of any consequence; some day in future, when I behome well-to-do, then a crowd of friends will come out; now not one of them estimates me." So he said to the blacksmith: "Well, would you be willing to help or how?"

"All right," the blacksmith replied, 'when no one else is willing to help you, I shall do so."

"Very well," the boy said, "that is good; then I shall to-morrow make up the necessary food for the journey for us, and the day after to-morrow very early, mind you, we shall start."

"All right," he replied, "then provide the necessary food."

"Take care then," the boy said, "mind you, don't disappoint me."

"All right, I shall not disappoint you," he replied.

On the fixed day they started to go and buy a cow; but they were unable to find a suitable one. They went along, making inquiries as they went, and in this way they got very far off. They went past the country of one king, only when they had reached so far, they found a suitable one. When they saw the cow, she did not drop anything; but when they lay hold of her and looked at her, they saw that she had nine teeth, and she looked an unusually large heifer. The boy then said: "We shall take this one."

"No," the blacksmith said, "don't let us take this one; as you see, she has got all her teeth; still she has not had a calf. She is very likely barren."

"Well," the boy said, "whether she is barren or whatever she is, this one we shall take."

Ado damkin kulikedeā, Cele, gaite doliñ khusi nõk akangea; ado ma bhala dam lailem, tõe baliñ hatao dareae kana.

Ado uni reak dame ror̥keta, Are țaka. Ado uni kor̥ae men̥keta, Baña, țhik dam laime.

Adoē men̥keta, Do hataoe khanben, ir̥al țaka.

Ado uni kamare men̥keta, Nui bañl̥a gaige un̥akem damae kana, arh̥o besko khan, tin̥ak com damkekoa?

Ado uni hore men̥keta, Baña, bãbu, bae bañl̥awa, miť bih̥ar h̥o auriye bus̥agoka; n̥ek̥e sor dingeye pal akana.

Ado kamare men̥keta, Ma neleme, țata pur̥aen h̥o bae bus̥ak akana; ar bañkhan gai do bar țataregeko paloka ar pon țatareko bus̥agoka; ar bañkhan pon țatareko paloka, turui țatareko bus̥agoka. Ar nui do neleme, țata pur̥aenre h̥o bae bus̥ak akana. Nui do bañl̥a bañkhane cele kana?

Ado uni hore men̥keta, Acha, mas̥e ente aben ror̥leben, tin̥akte khanben hataokea.

Ado uni kamare men̥keta, Pon țakate khanliñ hataokea.

Ado uni hore men̥keta, Bañ, turui țaka emokben.

Ado uni kor̥ae men̥keta, Turui h̥o bañ ar ponea h̥o bañ; do m̥or̥e țakan̥ emama.

Ado uni hore men̥keta, Baña, bãbu, ađiñ marak̥ kana.

Adoē metadea, Khusi khan emokme, ar bañkhan j̥ah̥a senliñ hel̥koa.

Adoē men̥keta, Acha, den̥ en̥dekhan emokme. Adokin emadea; ado uni gaikin tol̥kedeā arkin tiak̥ aguyede kana.

Ado hijuk̥ hijuk̥tekin ayupena; ado miťtan̥ bajar macha atokin ham̥keta. Adokin men̥keta, Noa ninda do okatelañ calaka? Ma

²² What is here stated regarding the teeth and the age of cattle is in accordance with fact and daily practice. When buying a cow or a bullock they always ascertain the age by seeing the number of teeth in the nether jaw; when the calf is about three years the first two appear, then yearly two up to in all eight, according to the Santals. Nine teeth do not occur; that belongs to the folktales.

²³ *Lit.* 'a bazar village', i. e. a village with some shops.

Thereupon they asked the owner the price: "Well, we are fairly pleased with the cow; but you must first tell us your price, then we shall know whether we can take her."

The owner then named the price, nine rupees²¹. The boy then said: "Oh no, name the proper price."

"Well," the man said, "if you take her, eight rupees."

"You are prizing this barren cow so much," the blacksmith interposed; "I wonder what price you would ask if they were really good."

"No, my lad," the owner replied, "she is not barren; she has not had her first calf; but she has quite recently rutted."

"Please look at her," the blacksmith said, "although she has got her full set of teeth, she has not as yet had a calf. As a rule cows rut when they have got two teeth, and calve when they get four, or else they rut when they have four teeth, and calve when they get six²². But look at this one, although she has got all her teeth, she has not calved as yet. She is barren, what else is she?"

"Well," the man said, "well then, speak you, then, how much might you be willing to give for her?"

"If we get her for four rupees," the blacksmith said, "we might take her."

"No," the man said, "give six rupees."

The boy then said: "Neither six rupees, nor four; look here, I shall give you five rupees."

"No, my lad," the owner said, "that won't do, it will be a great loss to me."

"If you will agree to that, give her; otherwise we shall go somewhere else and look for a cow," the boy said.

"All right then," the owner replied, "give me that then." So they paid him, tied a rope round the neck of the cow and started leading her away.

As they were coming along on their way home, they were benighted; they came to a fairly large²³ village and said: "Where shall we go now at night? Let us pass the night on

niã atorege jãhãe piñðarelañ gitić aňgaka. Ado onka menkate ato senkin rakapena; ado miť hõrak piñðakin ñel ñamkettakoa, adokin metako kana, Henda baba, noa piñðakore gitić thãokope arakkea?

Adoko menketa, Hẽ janić, bale araga?

Ado onðekin ðerayena; ado taben khajari jom baraketto gaiin tolkadea, ar ona piñðarekin jaegayena. Adokin japitketre onko do uni gaike rarakedetakina; ado etagić mittañ akoren buđhi gai agukate unkinren gaiye tahẽkan then agukateko tolkadea, arko gitićena.

Ado dosar hilok aňga marsalen khankin ñele kan doe bañ kan akinren gai do. Ado uni hõrkin metae kana, Iã baba, gai dope bõðolatliña, nui gai doe bañ kantaliña; aliñren dope hataokedea, etagiće em akawatliña.

Adoe metakin kana, Baña, nui kangeae abenren do; nui gaiğe holañ ñel agu akatbena.

Ado unkinin menketa, Baña, aliñren gai do hani gorarepe ader akadea.

Ado uniye menketa, Bañ, uni gai doe inren kana; cedak in emabena? Okge gaiben agu akade, ini bare idiyetaben; inren do cak in emoka? Ado nonka ađi baricko kaphariauena.

Khange uni hõr doe menketa, Baña, nonka jhograk do bañ bogea; hape, nonðen hõr in jarwalekoge, nui gai reakbon bi-carlege.

Ado onka menkate mañjhi thene calao goťena, ar atoren miť bar bhõdro porja ado mañjhi orakreko jarwayena. Adoe lai bhẽd-ako kana, bañma, Mittan bidisiã hõren gai in doñ gabre akadea; uniren gai do ingeñ hataokedea ar inren buđhi gai uni doñ em akaawadea. Ado onañ laiape kana, ape do in sen leka bare rorpe; ma ona reak doñ bujhaupea.

Ado miť hõre menketa, Achia, tinakem emoka?

somebody's verandah here in this village." With this intention they went up to the village, and when they saw a house with a verandah, they spoke to the people: "I say, sir, might you be willing to let us have a place to lie down in here somewhere on the verandah?"

"O yes," they said, "most likely; should we not let you have a place?"

So they settled down there for the night: after having eaten taben and khajari they tied the cow, whereupon they lay down on the verandah. When they were asleep, those other ones untied their cow, brought another, an old cow of their own, and tied her where the cow of these two had been, whereupon they lay down.

When it dawned the next morning, the two saw that it was not their cow, and said to the man: "I say, father, you have changed the cow for us; this one is not our cow; you have taken our one and given us another one."

"Not at all," the man replied, "this one is yours, I saw you two bring this cow yesterday."

"Certainly not," they said, "see there is our cow, you have put her into your cow-shed."

"No," he answered, "that cow is mine; why should I give you that one? Take away with you the cow you brought, please; why should I give you mine?" And they had a hot quarrel over this.

At last the man said: "No, it is no good to quarrel in this way. Wait, let me call the people of this place together; then we shall have this matter judged first."

Saying this he went straight to the headman, whereupon a few of the more respectable inhabitants came together in the headman's house; the man explained the meaning of it all to these: "I have helped myself to a cow belonging to a man from another country; I have taken his cow and have given him an old cow of my own. I tell you this; speak you in my favour, and I shall show you my appreciation of it."

"All right," one man said, "how much will you give?"

Ado uni hore menketa, Do jitaukidinape menkhan, mōrē taka than manteñ em godoka.

Adoko menketa, Acha, endekhanle jitau ocomea.

Nonka ado sari ghus emkateko gohayente unkin hore thenko calaoena, ado bicarre unkin doko posraketkina, gai do ini budhi gaigeko metatkina, idiyeben mente. Ado uni tuar korae menketa, Ia baba, manjhi paranik ar ape mōrē hore, alin do noa bicarre baliñ khusilena. Noa do eken toropdari bicar lekagelin aikauketa. Hape, alin hō miñ bar galmarao horlin banijanrege.

Adoko metatkina, Acha, do agukoben. Ado onko hore seko bujhauefa, banma, nukin do bidisiā hore, galmarao horkin agukore hō tho niakorenge; onko do nāhāk ekkaltebon ran gotkoa. Ado onka bujhaukateko menketa, Acha, do agukoben.

Ado uni tuar korae menketa, Ia ho, ma am do nonde bare tahē hatarok talañme, noako motra hore hore hatarame. In do hina ato khon miñ bar hore in riāu agulekoge. Ado onko hō ni gaigeko digrialan khan, nigelan idiyea.

Ado onka menkate ac doe beret calaoena; ado hore hō bae nel akat iate aurige bin hortegeye calak kana. Ado sangin machare mitan atoe nel namketa. Ado ona ato nelkate hore doe atketa; ado patar potar mitan bir menaka; ado ona bir tala talateye calak kan tahēkana. Ado ona bir talarege, kathae, toyotekin haram budhiye namketkina, adokin daret tahēkana. Ado uni korae hore hore keta, E ho, hape se, tengolenben, abengeñ nam barayetbena.

Ado kathaekin tengoyena, adokin menketa, Cedakem nam barayetliña?

Ado uni korae menketa, In do tuar hore kanan, engan kukhireñ tahēkanrege apun doe gocena, ar okako apune cijlet tahēkan, onako do gonon kakanterko engan ko dhomkaokedete sanam cijko idiketa, ar jumi hōko recketlea; ado nalha tumalte poesa jarwa-

²⁴ *Ficus bengalensis*, Roxb. This tree grows to an immense size; the aerial roots coming down from the branches strike root and form a fresh stem; in this way one tree may become quite a grove.

"If you let me gain the case, I shall at once give five rupees," the man replied.

"Very well," they said, "then we shall let you gain the case."

After he had bribed them to be witnesses for him, they went to those two; in judging they bullied them; they told them that their cow was that old cow, and said that they should take that one with them. The orphan boy then said: "Well, sirs, headman and vice-headman and you Five, we two are not satisfied with this judgment, we feel it to be like a biassed judgement only. Wait, let us also bring a couple of men who can speak."

"All right, do bring some," they said to them; they were, of course, thinking by themselves: "these two are from another country; even if they bring some to speak for them, it must be somebody from hereabouts, and those we shall straight away medicine." It was with this in mind that they said: "All right, do bring some."

The orphan boy then said to his companion: "Look here, my friend, you please remain here for the present, and watch our bundles for us during my absence. I shall go and ask a couple of men from that village over there to come. If those also decree this cow to be ours, we must take this one with us."

Having said this, he got up and went off. As he had not seen the way, he was walking along at random, where there was no road. Some distance away he sighted a village; but when he had sighted it, he lost his bearings. There was some scrubby jungle there, and he was walking along through this. Then he suddenly, in the middle of that jungle, met a pair of jackals; they were running along. The boy called out to them: "I say, wait, stop a moment; it is you two I am looking for."

They stopped and asked him: "Why are you looking for us two?"

"I am an orphan," the boy replied, "whilst I was still in my mother's womb, my father died, and what my father had acquired of goods and property all that the elder and younger brothers of my father took away after having scolded my mother into silence; our land they took from us by force. After having

kate mit̃tañ mihũñ kiriñ idijoñ kan tahẽkana. Ado ona bajar atore mit̃ hořak piñðareliñ gitić kan tahẽkana. Adoliñ jařitket jokhen uni hoř inren pheřar mihũi kombrokedete inĩñ tollede řhenge mit̃tañ buđhi gai agukateye tol ořokadea. Ado setak jokhen iñ ñełe kan doe bañ kantiñ, ar iñ agu gai do acáķ gořareye ader akade. Ado uni hoř iñ metae kana, Iř baba, nui gai doe bañ kantiña, inren doe uni uni kantiña. Ado uni hoře menketa, Bañ, nui gaięe coñ holam agu akawan; inren do cak iñ emama? Ado ona karõte bogeteliñ kaphariuena. Ado ona karõte hoře jarwaketkoa, ado joto hoř uni sen toropdari leakageko rořketa. Ado onare bañ khusilente mōřē hoř iñ metatkoa, Iř baba, noa bicarre do bañ khusilena; hape, iñ hō galmarao hoř iñ aguanrege. Ado hoř ñam iñ calak kan jokhenęe ado aben iñ ñamketbena. Ado dela abenge bicarkatiñben.

Ado unkin toyokin menketa, Bhala ato hoř ghus tanakko jom akata se?

Ado uniye menketa, Oķo bađae, mētte do bañ ñel akatkoa.

Ado unkinkin menketa, Acha, delabonliñ bicarkatama; ado askatem hećena, delaliñ bicarkatama.

Adoko hijuk kana, ado unrekin metae kana, Atore pholiñ senlena, seta nāhākko gerliña; ato bahre senre jāhā dare buřa tanakrebon jarwaka; ar unkin gai do banar baře agu darakinpe, ona bicar řhengebon tol hatarakakina.

Adoko heć seřeren khan, kulhi mucařre mit̃tañ baře dareko ñamketa; adokin metadea, Do noa dare buřa řhen hořo agukom; noñdegebon galmaraoa.

Ado sari unkin do oñdege dare buřarekin tahēyena, ar uni kořa do ato sene calaoente mañjhi paranik ar ato hoř ar uni mudai

²⁵ The end of the village street, i. e., the land just outside the last houses lying along the street, is a place very commonly used for sundry purposes. The 'Five' or the village council frequently meet here and not inside the village, because they here feel themselves less liable to interruption and may be sure that women are not listening. The Santals are very particular as to what should be said before women. It is one of their gentlemanly traits.

scraped together some money by working for others and by gleanings, I bought a calf and was taking her with me home. Then we two were passing the night in a man's verandah in that bazar town. When we had fallen asleep, that man stole my heifer, and, bringing an old cow, he tied that where I had tied mine. In the morning I saw that it was not my one, and that he had taken the cow I had brought into his own cow-shed. Then I say to this man: 'I say, father, this cow is not mine; that one there is mine.' Then the man said: 'Why, no it is this cow that you brought yesterday; why should I give you mine?' On account of this we had a hot quarrel, and on account of this he brought people together, and all of them spoke in his favour in a biased way. As I was not satisfied with this, I said to the Five: 'Well, sirs, I am not satisfied with this judgement; wait, let me also bring some who can speak.' As I was coming along looking for some such people, I met with you. So come along, you two, and be my judges."

The two jackals then said: "I wonder, perhaps those village people have 'eaten' bribes, or how?"

"Who knows?" the boy said, "with my eyes I have not seen it."

"Very well then," the two jackals said, "come along, and we two shall decide your case; you came with confidence, come, we shall judge your case."

Whilst they were on the way, the jackals said to the boy: "We cannot in any case go into the village; the dogs will bite us; let us meet somewhere outside the village, at the foot of some tree or other; and bring the cows, both of them, along with you; we shall tie them in the meanwhile there where we are to have the meeting."

When they reached the place, they came upon a banyan²⁴ tree at the end of the village street²⁵. So the jackals said to him: "Do bring them here to the foot of this tree; we shall have the discussion here."

The jackals then remained there at the foot of that tree, and the boy went to the village and invited the headmann and the

hōr, jōtōe riāukefkoa, ar unkin gāi dō sōngēteko āgu daraketkina. Adō jōtō hōr ona bārē dare butāreko jarwayena.

Adōko metae kana, Okorkotam oaris dō, sē galmarao hōr dō okorkotam?

Adō unkin toyo dō pharak nōkrekin durup̄ akan tahēkana. Adōe metako kana, Hankinkin durup̄ akan.

Adōko mēnketa, Unkin makin toyo kan.

Adō uniye mēnketa, Unkingēn āgu akatkina.

Adōko mēnketa, Acha besge.

Adō ona dare butāreko durup̄ena, adō unkin toyo hōkin hēc sorente mīt āre sēnrekin durup̄ena. Adō sanam hōrko thir bārā akangea, ōkōe hō cēt hō bako rōr bārāyeta. Adō māñjiye mēnketa, Durrē! thir bārāyen dōbo. Dē cēt katha kana, lāi sādēpe.

Adō adōm hōrko mēnketa, Ōkōe ēnte rōr sādēa? Ōkōeye jarwa-ketbon, uni bae lāi māñhē khan, dosra hōr dō cēt lekāe ehōba?

Adōko mēnketa, Dē ho, tōbē rōrtabonme, cētko katha kana; cēt lāgitem jarwa akatbona, onako dōm lāile bañlē baḍaetama?

Adō uni kōrae mēnketa, Hē, baba, sārī kangea, lāile ēnēc baḍaēōka. Iā baba, katha dō noa kana, ēnē enanbo galmaraoket, ona kathage arhōbon galmarao dohrāea.

Adōko mēn gōtketa, Ona ma ēnē cōñ enanrebon cabaket; adō cetēm nām kana? Ma uni enanle metatme, uni gāi bārē idiyem.

Adō uni kōrae mēnketa, Enan dō galmaraore bañ khusilente bañ idiledea, ar īñ sēcōren oaris ōkōe hō un dō bako tahēkana. Adō bar hōr īñ āgu akatkina, adō unkin salakrebōn galmaraolege; adō uni gaiye thikōk khan, inigēn idiyēa.

Adō onkako ropōr kan jōkhēn dō unkin toyo dōkin tirup̄ akana. Adō onko hōrko mēn gōtketa, Dōs nāhīkin iā kana; mīt nīndā

²⁶ Jackals acc. to Santal observation largely feed on grasshoppers and crabs, these last ones being commonly found in the rice fields during the rainy season.

²⁷ The jackal quotes in a rustic Bengali. The sentence is very likely borrowed from Hindu villagers.

vice-headman and the village people and the opponent, all of them, to come and they also brought the two cows along. The whole party assembled there at the foot of the banyan tree.

"Why, where are your spokesmen?" they said, "where are those who are to speak for you?"

The two jackals were sitting a little distance off, and the boy said: "Look, they are sitting over there."

"Why, those two are jackals," they said.

"It is those two that I have brought," the boy replied.

"All right, it is good," they said.

When they had sat down at the foot of that tree, the two jackals also came near and sat down on one side. All were sitting quietly, no one of them was speaking a single word. The headman then said: "Dear me, we have become quite silent. Please speak out, what is the matter."

Then some one said: "Well, who should speak out? If he who has called us together does not first state his case, how can we other people begin?"

"Well then you," they said, "speak then what it is; for what purpose have you called us together? only when you tell that, we shall know what you mean."

"Yes, sirs," the boy said, "that is quite so; only when a thing is told, it will be known. Well, sirs, it is this; what we talked about a while ago this morning, that matter we must discuss once more."

"Why," they answered, "that we settled this morning; what more do you want then? Do take with you the cow we told you this morning."

"I was not satisfied with the decision this morning," the boy said, "therefore I did not take her away; neither had I then any one to be spokesman for me. Now I have brought two persons, so let us discuss the matter with them present. If then this cow is found to be the right one, I shall take her away with me.

Whilst they were talking together in this way, the two jackals were sitting with bowed heads. The other ones then said: "They

katkōm sosročkokin sendra kan tahiēkana, adō dudrumetkina. Nitōk dō galmarao hōr khan jāhān katha bakin rōrkea? Adō okorkin rōrēta?

Adō toyo aṇḍiaye rōr goṭkēta, Hē, baba, galmarao hōr kange-aliṇ. Ape dōpe mēnēta, dudrumetkina; mēnkhan dudrum dō baliṇ dudrum kana. Miṭṭaṇ aliṇ mōtorege jhogra menaktaliṇa. Adō nui kōra reak bicar laḡitbon jarwa akana, ona ma hē kange, uniaḡ hōbon bicargetaea, ona hō babon baḡiaka. Adō bhage nonḡe ape mōrē hōrliṇ nāmketpea; mēnkhan pāhil dō aliṇaḡ bicar maraṇkataliṇpe. Ape dō bikcar hōr kanape, nui kōra reakpe bicarkēta; besge ona hōliṇ metak kana. Adō aliṇaḡ bicarlepe, tōbeliṇ metapea, noko dō nui kōra reak ṭhikko bicar akata mēnte. Ar aliṇaḡ bicar bape phaṇḡaokēta mēnkhan, eṇḡekhan ṭhik bikcar hōr dōpe baṇ kana.

Adō onko mōrē hōrko mēnkēta, Acha, cēt leka kana, masē laṭitaben.

Adō uni toyo aṇḍiaye mēnkēta, Aliṇ dō miṭtegeliṇ daṛan kana ar miṭgeliṇ jōmēta, dak hō miṭgeliṇ nūyēta; adō cekate nui dō bar dhaoe icēta? Iṇ dō din mōtore miṭ dhaogeṇ icēta ar nui dō bar dhao. Adō masē noa baṛe bicarkataliṇpe.

Adōko mēnkēta, Okō baḡae ente, cekate cōṇ bar dhaoe icēt kan.

Adō uni toyo aṇḍiaye mēnkēta, Adō ona baṛe ente masē kuliyepe, cedak bar dhao dōe icēt kana.

Adō sariḡo kulikedeā, Sari am dō bar dhaoem icēta, sē nui dō aṛiḡeye laiyeṭa? Onkako kuliyede kana arko landayeṭa.

Adō toyo aṇḍiaye mēnēta, Hā! hā! alope landaea, landa katha dō baṇ kana. Hapramkoko rōrakata, "Bhalō bhalō loker sōṅge dōrbar jachore putā hāsi katha na bōlōre." Onateṇ metape kana, landa katha dō baṇ kana, alope landaea.

Adō khangeko thirena, adōko kulikedeā, Ma laṭime, cedak bar dhao dōm icēta? Sōṅgegeben daṛan kana, sōṅgegeben jōm nūyēta, adō cekate am dō bar dhaoem icēt kana?

²⁸ It is a common expression. When something is done or happens, different from the ordinary, without any observable cause, especially when it is of constant occurrence, it is supposed to be due to the 'command' of the higher powers.

²⁹ *Lit.* 'what is together with', the meaning apparently being that which pairs with that of others, perhaps of her husband's, in other words, what is natural.

are fine judges those two. They spent the whole night hunting for crabs and grasshoppers²⁶, and now they are feeling drowsy. If they were persons who can speak, would they not now say something? Why, they are not speaking a single word."

The he-jackal then said: "Yes, sirs, we are spokesmen. You are saying: they are feeling drowsy; that is not so, we are not feeling drowsy. We two are having a quarrel between ourselves. Now we have come together to decide this boy's case; that is quite so, we shall judge his case, we shall not forget that. It was very fortunate that we two met with you council-people here; but first judge our case. You are people accustomed to judge; you judged this boy's case; we call that quite good. Now first judge our case; then we shall be able to tell you that these people have judged rightly in this boy's case. And if you don't settle our dispute, in that case you are not proper judges."

The Five then said: "All right, state your case, what it is."

The he-jackal then said: "We two are going about together, and we are eating the same food: we are also drinking the same water: how is it then that she voids excrements twice? I myself void once daily and she twice. So please settle this matter for us."

"Well, who can tell," they said, "how it can be that she voids twice daily."

The he-jackal then said: "Then please ask her about this, why she voids excrements twice."

So they really asked her: "Is it true that you void excrements twice, or is he telling fibs?" They asked her and were laughing.

The he-jackal then said: "Hold! hold! don't laugh; it is not a laughing matter. The ancestors²⁷ have said: 'Wenn man mit vornehmen Leuten im Rate sitzt, kein leichtfertiges Sprechen.' I therefore tell you, it is no laughing matter; don't laugh."

So they stopped laughing and asked her: "Please tell, why are you voiding excrements twice? You two are going about together, you are eating and drinking together: how is it then that you are voiding excrements twice"?

Ado uniye mēnketa, Noa dō sari kangea, sōngegeliñ daran kana, ar jom nū hō mitgeliñ jom nūyeta, mēnkhan sarige in dō bar dhao in icetgea. Ado nonka leka in dō hukum menaktiña, bañma, mit dō sōngē ic kantīña, ona dō dhartirege nūrok kante eñdege tañen kana; ar mit dhao in iceta, ona dō okoe hōr ghuse jomet ar ona ghush karōnte rañdi dukhi, tuar amar, guni gurib reak bicare bēhoket, ado uniren usti pustikoak mocare ona ic dō paraok kana, ar uniye jom akat mocare hō ona ic dō hapen hana purire paraoaea, ona ic dō moca ar mocarege hapen tañena. Ar okoe hōr ghuse jom akatre hō, mōrē hōr then aṅgockate in nū-tumteye dohaele khan, onako hōlop dō sanam kaṭaokoktaea; ar bae aṅgoc khan dō, hapen oñe onka onko hōrak dosa dō hoyoktakoa. Ado oñe ona iate in dō bar dhao ij reak hukum menaktiña. Ma ado katha bujhaupe.

Ado aṇḍiaye mēnketa, Dē baba, ape mōrē hōr bujhaupe. Pasec ape motore nonka leka hoe akan khan dō, laipe ninaḱ mōrē hōr samānre; ar bañkhan dō hapen onka dosa hoyoka.

Ado okoko hōr ghushko hataolaka, se hataoko mēnet tahēkan, onko hōr dō akotege lalaiko portōnketa, ado joto katha thik thikko rōrketa. Khange uni koraren gaiko delaokadetaea, ar uni kombro hōrge ulṭaute mōrē ṭakako dāṇḍkedeā. Ado uni korā dō gaiye tiḱkedetaea, adoe calaoena; ar noko hōko bhiṛ bhaṅgaena; ar nukin toyo hō uni korā tayōmtekin pañja idikedea, ado birko tiokket khankin mēnketa, Ma bābu, eñḍekhan gai dō idiyeben, aliñ dō neṭeliñ calak kana. Ado eñeko apan apin barayena.

Ado uni gai dōkin idi seṭerkadea, ado gorare bañ dō sate umulre, kathaekin tōlkadea. Ado eṅgattet dō baṭiko mañjao barakate dake tañatkina; ado nū barakate jaṅga dhurikin ābukena. Ado uni eṅgattet dō baṭire dak tañkate uni gaiak jaṅgae arupkettaea ar busupe āguadea. Ado onakin sēnlenak duk suke kuli barayet-

³⁰ Bribery as described occurs among the people. It is very common all over India. In the ordinary Santal village-quarrels only one form of bribery is common, that of giving food and drink, especially the latter, to the more important persons.

She then said: "It is quite true. We are going about together, and we are also eating and drinking the same; but in truth I void excrements twice. I have such an order²⁸, namely, one is my company-dung²⁹; this falls down on the earth and remains there; and once more I void, the meaning of that is: he who takes bribes³⁰ and for that bribe's sake judges unjustly the widow's, the orphan's and the poor and indigent people's case, in the mouth of his offspring for generations upon generations that dung falls; that filth will remain in their mouth for ever. But any person who has 'eaten' bribes, if he confesses it before the council and makes supplication in my name, from him all that curse will be removed; and if he does not confess, then such as stated the fate of those will be. For this reason I have order to void excrements twice. Please understand this."

The he-jackal then said: "Please, sirs, you Five, understand the matter. If by any chance such a thing should have happened among you, tell it before so many councillors; otherwise, such a fate is in store for you."

Then those who had taken bribes or who had intended to take, commenced of their own accord to tell, and they told everything exactly as it was. Thereupon they formally gave the boy's cow over to him and they turned the whole against the thief and fined him five rupees. The boy went away, leading his cow, and those other ones also went, each his own way. The two jackals also went along after the boy until they reached the forest, when they said: "Now, my boy, take the cow with you; we two are going in this direction." So they parted company there.

The two of them then brought the cow home and tied her in the cattle-shed or perhaps it was in the shade of the eaves. The boy's mother scoured and cleaned some cups and poured out water for them; when they had drunk, they washed the dust off their feet. His mother then poured some water into a cup and washed the cow's feet and brought her straw. Thereupon she asked them what had happened to them, good and bad, on their journey, and

kina, tinaḱteben kiriṅkedeā, onakokin laiaē kana, ar onēko kombrolede tahēkan ar ceka lekatekin nam ruarḱede, onako joto bean, je kichu hoelenak do, jotoḱin lai cabawadea.

Ado uni kamare menḱeta, In do unkin toyo nelte ar unkinak katha aṅjomte aḱiṅ haharayena. Nelme se ente, toyo jat kanakin, hoṛ roṛ do okarekin cetḱette onka puṣṭau doḱin galmarao kana? Ona aṅjomte in do aḱiṅ haharayena. Ar bicar hō aḱa khub ṭhikkin bicarleta, eḱkalte roṛ siṭ utaṛena, ona khon do oele hō baṅko roṛ daṛeta, eḱkalteko hēḱ utaṛḱeta, gai hōko em utaṛ goṭatliṅa, arhō mōrē ṭakako ḍaṇḍomkedeā.

Ado uni kamare laieta se, cet baṅ ona roṛ aṅjomte aḱi hoṛko jarwayena, ado cet baṅ seye maḷuṅ cabakeṭkoa. Ado uni koṛaren eṅgattete meneta, Ia baḅu, unkin do toyo do bakin tahēkana; unkin do Candogekin tahēkana, onatege nonka hahara doḱin roṛḱeta. Adoko menḱeta, Hēge coṅ.

Arhō uni kamare menḱeta, Kakat goṅgottoko nuiak cijko hatao akattaea, ona hō hapene nam ruarṭaea; ente onko do beḱoḱteko hatao akattaea.

Ado onko jarwa akan hoṛko menḱeta, Baṅa, noa katha do ṭhikgem meneta, ar ale hō ona dole bujḱau akatḱea. Ado cetem mena? Ado okḱe onaren dhatḱae teṅgolen baṅ. Ar nelpe, jotoḱo reḱ caba akatḱore hō, noko do Candoe dayawako kante reṅḱeḱte do bako koṣṭo akana.

Ado enka galmarao barakate khangē uni kamar doḱe menḱeta, Acha, ma galmaraoṭabonpe, in do oṛakteṅ senlengē, dakaṅ jom agulege.

³¹ Pāi is very nearly half a litre. The size varies with the different localities, the shopkeepers often also have several sizes, one to buy with, another to sell with, and a third used when dealing with those whom it might be inconvenient to try to cheat, viz. the standard measure. The standard pāi is half a seer, and this is to be equivalent to eighty tolas (one tola is the weight of one rupee, the silver coin unit). It is fairly common to see people in the rural shops testing the size of the measures. One way of doing it is to weigh dried rice grain with rupees. If the amount of rice contained in a pāi measure weighs forty rupees,

how much they had paid for the cow; they told her all that, also how people had stolen her, and in which way they got her back, the story of all this, every particular happening, in fact everything they narrated to her.

The blacksmith then said: "I was much astonished seeing those two jackals and hearing their words. For, remember, they are of the jackal race; where had they learnt the Santal language so they could speak so distinctly? By hearing that, I was very much astonished. And think, their judging, that was also excellent; all talk was immediately utterly put a stop to; no one could speak anything further; they at once agreed to all; the cow they also gave over to us immediately, and the man they fined five rupees."

The blacksmith was telling, you can't imagine how fine it was and by hearing his tale very many people came together, and you can't imagine how nicely he told, he absolutely fascinated them. Then the boy's mother said: "I say, my boy, those two were no jackals; they were Chando himself; therefore they spoke so wonderfully." "Yes, perhaps so," the others said.

Again the blacksmith commenced to speak: "His uncles, the younger and elder brothers of his father, have taken the boy's property; this he will also get back some day; for they have taken it from him unjustly."

"Yes," the assembled people said, "that is quite so; you are speaking quite right; we have also understood that. But what can you say? The claimant must, first of all, stand up. But see, although they have robbed them of everything, Chando is taking pity on them, so they do not suffer distress from hunger."

After they had had this talk, the blacksmith said: "Very well, you continue to talk; I must go home and have some food."

it is a correct or standard pal measure. It might be mentioned that the measures in common use are of a local manufacture, some made of wood, others of wood with brass or iron mountings, and others of metal cast by a certain Hindu caste.

Ado sari onkae menket khan do uni koraren engattet do boloy-ente bar pe pai gan caoleye odokette uni kamare emadea; adoe metadea, Ne ghette, gidrako nahakko nel darammea.

Ado sariye ghetteta, arho dal bulunkoe emadea, ado ina ghett barakate khangé uni kamar doe calaoena. Ado onko jarwa hor ho cun thamakur jom barakateko apan apinena.

Ado ina dosar tesar khangé, kathae, kakat gongotteko doko anjomketa, bauma, nui korá do apat reak jumiye pachae lagit. Ado onkoko menketa, Acha besge, mase bhala abo ho niá ade tola horko thenbo bujhaú baralege; ar bankhan bhorme bhormetebon em ruarkataea.

Ado sari okakore coko bujhaú baraket, ar one gai kiriñkin senlenre toyoe bicarkettakin, ado ona katha ho ade tola hor thenko lai sadeket khan, onkoko menketa, Ma uniak cijko do em ruarkataepe; ar bankhan hapen apegepe lajaoka. Nelpe, uniren do se uni uparte do bir janwar ho ko teñgon kana. Abo hor horre ma jáhá lekatebon ere darekekogea; menkhan pase Candoge uniake bicartae, ar uni hor leka pasete sabud ape ho bhoktegepe hatao akattae, tobe un jokhen moskil hoyoka.

Ado sari onkako bujhaú barawan khanko menketa, Mabon em ruarkataea, ar onebon hataotae jokhen hoe men akata, apat tahé-kanre bar cando.reak tahékatgeye goe akana. Pase ona kathage sari, tobe nahak cetbon mena? Kajetege babon lajaoka? Ma nenkare onako do jotobon emkataea. Ina do abore ho suluk tahena, ar bankhan hapen jáhá hilok jhogra hapen hoyoka, abore bankhan hapen gidrakoko jhograktabona.

³² See p. 99, note 3.

³³ As they have no pockets, it is common to tie things they take along with them in their cloth.

³⁴ The Santals make beer from malted grain, now commonly from rice. The grain of *janhe*, *Paspalum scrobiculatum*, L., is also much used for the purpose and said to be more intoxicating than other kinds of beer. Beer is very commonly taken, thus at all festivals, and as the final part of any discussion or decision reached in the village council, and so on. The most objectionable thing about

When he said this, the boy's mother entered her house, brought out about two or three pai³¹ rice and gave the blacksmith, whereupon she said to him: "Here, take this and tie it up in your cloth; your children will be waiting for you now."

He tied the rice up in his cloth; she further gave him dal³² and salt, and having tied it all up³³ the blacksmith went. Thereupon the people who had come together separated, after they had chewed lime and tobacco.

A couple of days after this, his uncles heard it told that the boy was going to inquire into the circumstances of his father's land. They said: "Very well, let us also seek advice with people here in the vicinity; else we shall give it back to him without making any fuss."

They really did so and sought advice here and there, and when they told people in the nearest villages of how the jackal had passed judgement when they had gone to buy a cow, these people said: "Give him back his property; if you don't, you will certainly some day be put to shame. See, on his side or on his behalf even forest animals stood up. We human beings between ourselves, we may somehow or other be able to fool people; but perhaps Chando will judge his case, and perhaps the man also will prove that you have unjustly taken his property; then there will come difficulties."

When they had sought advice in this way, they said: "Well, let us give him back what is his; at the time we took it from him, the woman also said that his father died when she was two months with child from him. Perhaps that will be shown to be true, what shall we then be able to say? Without doubt, shall we not be put to shame? Let us, whilst it is like this, give him all that is his. Thereby there will be peace also between ourselves. If we don't do so, there will some day in future arise quarrels between ourselves, or, if not, then our children will some day quarrel."

Ado unāk hābičko bujhauket khan, haṇḍiko dōhōketa; ona dulkate uni koṛa ar eṅgattet ar ato hoṛ jotoḱo jarwaketkoteko galmaraokeṭa. Ado gaiko ar jumi baṛgeko jotoḱo em ruṛ kattaeta.

Ado cabayena katha dō. Onē onkate, kathaē, uni koṛa dō jumi baṛgeye ṇam ruṛkettaeta. Saṛi cōṇ nase cōṇ, hoṛ onkako galmaraoa.

12. Mitṭet toyo ar sim reak katha.

Sedae jugre, kathaē, mitṭaṇ toyo ar mitṭaṇ sim phulkin pataolet tahēkana, ar unkin dō boehakin saṅailet tahēkana. Ado mitṭ din dō manotok reakkīn neṇḍakeṭa; bana hoṛ haṇḍikin dōhōketa; adō isinen khan dō dul baṛakatekin nēotayena. Paḥil dō toyo oṛakrekin nū baṛakeṭa, adō onakate sim oṛaktekin calaoena.

Santal drinking is that the aim is to get drunk. As to beer itself, it is not very intoxicating; it is always made so by adding vegetable poisons. In the villages, these additions do not lead to more than intoxication. In the beer-shops, it sometimes happens that people die after drinking the drugged beer. They make use of one or more among 23 different kinds of vegetable poisons, so far as I remember. The matter here referred to is a peculiar custom, by which an intimate and lifelong friendship is established between two persons of the same sex. The parties concerned put a flower (frequently of the *Plumeria acutifolia*, Poiret) in each other's hair and exchange presents of cloth and money. They address each other and speak of each other as *phul*, flower; they feast each other and assist each other in all circumstances. The ceremony gone through when first establishing this friendship is to a certain extent public, relatives and others being present. Persons of different race, i. e., a Santal and a Hindu, may contract this kind of friendship, although such is not often the case. The present story may possibly give a hint that friendship of this latter kind is unnatural and leads to disaster. According to what the Santals tell, they have got this peculiar form from the Hindus. The name *phul* is Hindi (from Sanskrit).

✓ It might be mentioned that the Santals have a similar custom of their own. When two young people of the same sex, especially two girls, not so frequently

When they had got so far in thinking the matter over, they started making beer³⁴; when that was ready, they called the boy and his mother and the village people together and talked the matter over. Thereupon they gave him his cows and his rice-lands and fields back, all of it.

Now there this story is ended. In this way that boy got his rice-lands and fields back. Whether it is true or not, people tell the story in this way.

12. THE STORY OF A JACKAL AND A HEN.

ONCE upon a time, in a former age, people tell, a jackal and a hen had engaged themselves to be flower-friends for life¹, and they agreed to stand in the relationship of brother and sister² to each other. Thereupon they fixed a day to celebrate their friendship³; both of them brewed beer, and when this was ready fermented⁴, they drew it off and invited each other. First they had a drink in the jackal's home; thereupon they went to the hen's house.

boys, have become intimate friends, they make this friendship public at a Karam festival. This is celebrated in the Santal villages immediately after the Durga festival. The persons concerned take two leaves of a branch of the karam tree (*Adina cordifolia*, H. f. & B.) and fix one leaf in each other's hair, whereupon they salute all the villagers there assembled, one after the other. Afterwards they treat the village-people to beer; they also give each other presents of cloth. These also do not use other names (especially of relationship) in calling to one another, but only *karam dār* (lit. *karam branch*). It is an idealistic friendship into which they enter, lasting for life. It is told that such friends have given their life to serve each other.

² This is against the rule; two persons of different sex must not become *phul*. Santal has here one word for brother and sister.

³ See above note 1. The feast here referred to is not the public ceremony, but the friendly entertainment following afterwards.

⁴ Beer takes five days to brew. See p. 186, note 3.

Ado khange uni sim dōe bulena, adōe kōbōk kōbōgōk kana, ar uniren hōpōn dō ciāp ciāp bogeteko raket kana; adō enre hō uni sim enḡa dō bae disayetkoa. Adō uni toyoe mēnketa, Nui sim dōh jōmegea. Adō sariye bul gitičen khan dō, gerkateye aṭkirkedea are jōmkedea. Adō khange onko sim hōpōn dōko tuarena.

Adō dosar hilok dō ciāp ciāp aḡi baṛioko rak barayeta. Khange uni toyo dō noko hō jōmko laḡite locor locorok kana; uni enḡa reak aḡi sebele aḡikaukette noko hō jōm maraokoe mēnketa. Adō khangeye heḡ gōtena; adōe kuliyetkoa, Henda bhagna, cedakpe raket kana?

Khange adōko mēnketa, Hola mahnderre, mamō, enḡane gōḡ baḡiatlela.

Adōe kuliketkoa, Okarepe gitiča?

Adōko mēnketa, Ale dō pakharele gitič kana.

Adō enka kuli barakatege uni toyo dōe calaoena, Adō noko sim hōpōnko galmarao jōh kana, Nui toyoge tho ya aboren ayo dōe jōmkedea; adō abo hō jōmbon laḡite kuli ṭhiketbona. Adōko mēnketa, Teheh dō pakhare dō babon gitiča.

Khange adō ona pakhare dō holatko, churi biṇṭhikoko dōhōkata. Adō nindayen khan dō uni toyo dōe heḡ gōtena, adō ona pakhageye haṭṭrau gōḡketa. Adō khange holatko churikote bhage-teye geḡ sirō soroyena. Adō hasokede khan aḡiye āk ūkketa. Khange en hilok dōe ruṣṣ calaoena.

⁵ The Santali word is ciāp ciāp, onomatopoetic like the English equivalent.

⁶ In the Santal folklore the animals make use of artificial relationship, just as the Santals themselves, and address each other accordingly. It is generally the relationship of mother's brother and nephews and nieces of such that is supposed to be established. These relatives are expected, according to the rules of Santal society, to 'honour each other like the Sun'. The bigger or dangerous animal is always the 'uncle'.

⁷ In houses with thick mud-walls (probably not originally Santal, but borrowed from the Hindus) small niches are made into the wall, intended for various purposes, such as putting a lamp or small things in.

After a while the hen became drunk; she was continually nodding her head, whilst her chickens were cheeping⁵ as much as they could. Still the hen mother did not mind them. The jackal then said: "I shall eat this hen." And when she was lying there drunk, he took her in his mouth, carried her away and ate her. Thus the chickens became orphans.

The day after the chickens were cheeping something awful, and the jackal's mouth was watering to eat these also. The hen had been so savoury that he thought he would eat all these also. So he one day came and asked them: "Look here, nephews and nieces⁶, why are you crying?"

"A few days ago, uncle," they replied, "our mother died and left us."

"Where do you sleep?" he asked them.

"We sleep in the wall-niche⁷," they replied.

Having enquired of them in this way the jackal went off. The chickens then had a talk together: "It was this jackal who ate our mother, and now he is making enquiries from us to be able to eat us also," whereupon they said: "We shall not sleep in the wall-niche to-night."

After this talk they put razors⁸, knives⁹ and carving-knives¹⁰ in the niche. As soon as it had become dark, the jackal came and commenced to grope in the niche with his forelegs, with the result that he cut himself badly on the razors and knives, so that he bled profusely. It pained him and he groaned much. So this time he went away.

⁸ The Santals ordinarily shave; their razors are country-made, small, fixed in a handle. Ancient stone implements, found in the country, are used as hones.

⁹ Country-made, generally something like kitchen-knives.

¹⁰ This implement (biṇṭhi) is a curved knife fixed slantingly in a piece of wood at one end, with the edge upwards. A person using it keeps it in position by putting his foot on the wood, the edge being towards the one using it. The biṇṭhi is used for cutting meat and vegetables into bits, and if needed and practicable, also for similar cutting of anything else. It is country-made; now-a-days one may sometimes see such knives entirely made of iron.

Khange arhō dosar hilok dōe hēcena; arhō onkageye kuli-yetkōa, Henda bhagna, cedakpe raketa?

Adoko mēnketa, Hola mahnderre, mamō, ehgañe goč bagiatlea.

Adoe mēnketa, Okarepe gitič kana?

Adoko mēnketa, Ale dō culharele gitič kana.

Ado enka mēn barakatege ač dōe ruar calaoena. Ado ayup khangeye hēc gofena; adō bako japiť akatteye ruar senena. Ado onko sim dō, kathae, culhare dō khubko tiŋgi aŋgra akat tahēkana; adō ona sēngel aŋgra dō tōročteko topa akat tahēkana. Ado ina miť ghari khange uni toyo dōe hēc gofena, adō culha duarreye paťgaŋdo gofena. Ado laha jaŋgate culhaye tamdao goťketa; adoe lō goťen khan dō ađi garteye gađuč goťketa. Ado ona sēngel aŋgra dō goťa lač senteye gađuč rakať goťana. Khangeye lō goťen khan dō ađi garteye kikiu goťketa.

Ado un jokhēc khange onko sim hōko landa goťketa. Onko sim dō mittaŋ tumbare bolokateko gitič kan tahēkana. Khangeye ešetketkōa; adoe metako kana, Ape dō goťa hōmope lō oco akadiña. Ape dō miť mittaŋ jom cabapea.

Ado unre onko simko mēnketa, Ia mamō, akhirrem jomlegea; mēnkhan oraķre dō alom jomlea; ente aleren ayo hō oraķre ma ba

¹¹ A Santal fire-place is made of clayish earth. The fire-place is made by women, who all know how to make it; sometimes men may also be seen making it. It is done in the following way: the earth is kneaded or pugged with the feet and formed into a mass some 40 to 50 cm. long, 25 to 30 cm. broad and 20 to 25 cm. high. (The measures given by a Santal woman for a two-holed culha are: one cubit long, one span and two fingers broad and one span high). When it becomes somewhat dry, two circular openings are made from above, and the earth is dug out with the hands. The openings are provided with three pommels or knobs; when in use, the cooking-pot rests on these, while there is just room enough beneath to permit of free draft. On the front-side a semicircular opening is made for the fire-wood. The space between the two openings is called the breast (kořam), i. e., the top side; below the same is the 'stomach' (lač). This is the most common form of culha, the two openings enabling the housewife to cook rice and curry at the same time. There are other forms, with one opening, or three or four such, generally made for special purposes.

The next day he came again, and again enquired of the chickens: "Look here, nephews and nieces, why are you crying?"

"A few days ago, uncle," they replied, "our mother died and left us."

"Where do you sleep?" he asked them.

"We sleep in the fire-place¹¹," they replied.

When they had talked in this way, he went away. As soon as it became evening, he returned; but as they had not then fallen asleep, he went away again. Now the chickens, people tell, had made a fire and got a lot of live coals, which they covered up with ashes. A short while afterwards the jackal came again and sat down on his haunches in front of the fireplace-opening. Thereupon he put his foreleg into the fire-place, groping about; and when he burnt himself, he withdrew his paw in hurry and haste and at the same time scratched the live embers up over the whole of his stomach. He burnt himself still more and screamed loudly.

When this happened, the chickens commenced to laugh. Now the chickens had entered a gourd¹² and were passing the night there. The jackal then blocked the way for them and said to them: "It is your fault that I have burnt myself all over my body. I shall eat you, every one of you."

The chickens then said: "Look here, uncle, you may eat us afterwards; but please do not eat us here in the house. You

¹² Santals make, for various purposes, use of the shell of a pumpkin, called *hotot*, *Cucurbita lagenaria*, L. There are two kinds, one eatable, much used for curry, another bitter and not fit for eating. These pumpkins have many shapes, some being roundish, others long, like clubs or bottles, and varying in size. Both the eatable and the bitter pumpkins have, when ripe, a shell that hardens like wood. This shell is used for a great many purposes, according to size and form. Of such they make ladles, cups, water-bottles, receptacles of sorts (for mustard-seed, &c.), and so on. They are clean, according to their ideas; water keeps cool in them. These utensils were much more in use formerly than now-a-days, when brass-ware is ousting the old things. The *tumbā* is mostly used as a water-bottle.

còm jomlede; onatele metam kana, ale hõ nonde dõ alom jomlea. Hana barge mucatre dhiri catani menaka, onde idikate jom marao gotkaleme.

Ado uni toyoe menketa, Baña, bhagna, besgepe metañ kana; onde dõ dhiri cetanre patganðokateñ jompea.

Ado sari onka men barakate khangе onа tumba sudhageye kutuñ idiketkoa. Ado ona dhiri then seterkatege ceka lekate coe paskao gotket khan, ona tumba dõ dhirire adi garte nurha posak gotena. Un jokhen onko sim dõ jotoko dar bara gotketa, onte note phar phurko udao bara gotena.

Khangе uni toyo doe haemoekatenа, onte noteye koyok gotkatkoa. Ado latar utarre mitane tahkana; uni dõ jotokoteko ic thekom akade tahkante bae udao dareata. Ado uni toyoe menketa, Acha, in jom motõ dõ Candoe deao akawadingea; onko dõ behokko tahkana, onate onko doe dar ocoketkoa; nitege in motõ don besoka.

Ado uni sime menketa, Akhirem jomeñgea; nonka ic salak dõ cet lekatem jomeña? Arup saphalinme, ado jomeñme.

Ado uni toyoe menketa, Acha, endekhan arupkategeñ jommea.

Ado khangе sariye arupkedeа. Ado arhõ uni sime menketa, Ia mamõ, akhirem jomeñgea; thora hawet nõk ocoanme; mit ghariñ rohor nõklenge.

Ado uni toyoe menketa, Baña, rohorlen khan dõ nahnakem dara.

Ado uni sime menketa, Baña, mamõ, judi unakem obiswasok kan khaç, endekhan amak lutire bare rohorkanme, ar in rohorlen khan integeñ metama, ma cahabme mente.

Ado sari uni simak kathageye anjomketa; ado sari acaк lutiregeye apkadea. Ado khube rohorlen khane metae kana, Ma cahabme, rohorenañ.

¹³ The house-field, in Santal barge, the field on which the Santals have their houses, used for Indian corn and cold-weather crops.

¹⁴ This and several other things mentioned give a local colouring. Large flat rocks belong to the Santal country and the hilly regions.

¹⁵ Cf. p. 68, note 11.

see, you did not eat our mother either here in the house. Therefore we tell you, don't eat us here either. Over there at the other end of the house-field¹³ there is a large flat rock¹⁴; take us there and eat us all there".

"Quite so, nephews and nieces," the jackal replied, "that is a good proposal; there on that large flat rock I shall sit down comfortably and eat you."

Having spoken in this way he really took the gourd up and carried it off with the chickens. When he reached the stone, he somehow or other let the whole slip down; the gourd fell with a loud crash and was broken into pieces. As the opportunity offered itself, the chickens all of them got off in a hurry, flying, flapping and fluttering hither and thither.

The jackal became stiff like wood from astonishment; he looked for them in all directions. Now there was one chicken underneath all the rest; all of them had dropped on this one and plastered it up, so he could not fly. "Very well," the jackal then said, "the needful food for me Chando¹⁵ has stood surety for; those other ones were unrighteous ones; therefore he made them run away. Now I shall do myself very well."

Then the chicken said: "To be sure you will eat me afterwards; but how can you eat me in such a dirty state? Wash me clean first and then eat me."

"All right," the jackal said; "I shall eat you after having washed you."

So he really washed the chicken. Then this one again said to him: "I say, uncle, to be sure you will eat me afterwards; let me get a little dry. Let me first dry myself a little."

"Not so," the jackal replied, "if you get dry, you will run away."

"Not at all, uncle," the chicken said; "if you have so little faith in me, please dry me on your lip; then when I get dry, I shall myself tell you to open your mouth."

Truth to tell, the jackal listened to what the chicken said and perched it on his lip. When the chicken had become quite dry, it said to him: "Please open your mouth wide; I am dry."

Khange adɔe cahaɔ ocokedeɔ, adɔ mocareye ic ɔɔadeɔ, adɔe uɔau ɔɔena. Uɔaue uɔauena se, aɔi saŋgihre miɕaŋ bunum danaŋreɔe tapuk ɔɔena.

Adɔ uni toyo dɔ icɕetko melɔt baraketɕeɔe calaoena ona bunum ɕhen, adɔ beɕhae bunume oyoŋ acureɕa. Adɔ mit seɕre ti bolɔk in maraŋ gan bunum bhugaɕe naŋketa, adɔe menketa, Dhora noa bhugaɕregeɔe bolɔ akana. Adɔ cur mar ona bhugaɕgeɔe soketa; adɔ ona hɔ bae sok tiok daɕeak kana. Adɔ khange jaŋgateɔe rabor gelak kana; ghaŋe dɔ mocate hɔe ger chaɔao gelak kana. Adɔ oka lekate hɔ bae daɕeak kana, enre hɔ bae baɕiak kana. Ar uni sim dɔ taŋha oka sen cɔe calaoen.

Adɔ uni toyoe menketa, Bhalare, sim, mocare ic oɕokatem daɕ akata; am dɔ aɕurilaŋ jɔmme dhapiɕ dɔ balan baɕiam kana. Adɔ bae tiok daɕeae khane menketa, Iɔ simge, tin haɕicem bolokoka? Bhalalan nelmea; bhugaɕ in duɕup eseda; amtege naŋhakem ghul ghulaŋ ɔɔe aɔoka.

Adɔ saɕi onka menkate ona bhugaɕ dɔe duɕup esetketa. Adɔ, kathae, tin haɕic coŋ oŋɕeɔe duɕupen khan bhuku dɔ ɔɔa liŋɕhiko jom khalkedeɔ. Adɔe duɕup aɕisen khan dɔ reŋgeɕkedeɔ. Adɔe bereten khan dɔe menketa, Amar muher mas gelo; nahakgeŋ duɕup akana; nui sim dɔ aɔiye eɕekidiŋa. Unre baɕeŋ jomle khaŋ doŋ beskea; nahakge moca reak jel in paskaoketa.

¹⁶ The termites or white ants are met with everywhere; the ant-hills are fairly frequent in the jungle and elsewhere, varying in size from below one up to two or three meters in height and correspondingly large in circumference. The ant-hills seen in this country are generally dark brown in colour (they consist of earth brought up from underneath by the termites and have consequently the same colour as the earth); in shape they are like miniature hills with peaks and pinnacles and steep, often nearly perpendicular 'ravines' or sides. Small holes may be found here and there; whether they are made by the termites or by animals, I cannot say. The ground below such a hill is correspondingly 'excavated' with passages, galleries and termites' nests.

As soon as it, in this way, had made the jackal gape, it eased itself in his mouth, and then at once flew away. It flew, oh, how it flew; far, far away, behind a white-ant hill¹⁶, it alighted on the ground.

The jackal again and again put his tongue out to get the dirt off, whereupon he went to that white-ant hill and looked everywhere round it. Ultimately he found a hole in the ant-hill, about big enough for a hand to get in; he said: "Undoubtedly, it has entered this hole." Then he commenced vigorously to thrust his paw into that hole; but he was not able to reach the bottom of it. Then he tried to scratch the earth away with his foot; now and then he also tried to bite the earth away with his teeth. He was not able to manage it in any way; still he did not leave off. And as for the chicken, it went who knows where in the meantime.

Ultimately the jackal said: "Well and good, chicken, you have run away after having eased yourself in my mouth; we two¹⁷ shall not leave you alone until we have eaten you." And as he was unable to reach it, he said: "You unspeakable chicken, how long are you remaining in there? Well, we two shall have a look at you; I shall sit and block the hole up; presently you will be choked and die by your own doing, you rascal."

Truth to tell, when he had said this, he sat down over the hole and blocked it up. Then when he had been sitting there for who knows how long, the white ants ate the skin off the whole of his hind-quarters. Ultimately he became tired of sitting and felt hungry. Getting up he said: "Das Fleisch meines Maules ist verloren gegangen¹⁸; I have been sitting here in vain; this chicken has cheated me badly. If I had only eaten it at that time, I should have done well; to no purpose I have let meat in my mouth slip away."

¹⁷ Inclusive dual used in threatening language.

¹⁸ The jackal makes use of Bengali.

Ado siṭṭaḷ miṭṭaḷ beretente baiḥaṛ sen hako kaṭkōm sendrae beret calaoena. Khange adō miṭṭaṅ buḍhi hakoe sasap kane ṇamkedeā; adōe metae kana, E buḍhi, iṇ hō hako sap ocoaṇme.

Ado uni buḍhiye mēnketa, Aṛeḥ harōn akanāṇ, oḥōṇ sap ocolema. Am dō kichum aṛeḥlaka?

Ado uni toyoe mēnketa, Ho, iā buḍhige, bam sap ocoaṇ khan dolaṇ ḡer aḍomea.

Ado uni buḍhiye mēnketa, Baṇa, sap ocoamgeaṇ, alom ḡereṇa. Dela hijukme! Bana ḥortelaṇ sap ḥaṭiṇkoa.

Khange uni toyoe āḡoyena, adōkin sapetkoa. Ado uni buḍhiye mēneta, Ma am hō leodaeme, umjḥaukoalaṇ. Ado uni toyo hōe leodayeta, khēṇṭe pere khēṇṭe pereye doneta. Ado khange miṭṭaṅ puṭhiye ṇam ḡotkedeā, adōe jōm ḡotkedeā. Ado uni buḍhi dō ḡuṭuteye rakaṇena. Ado arhō onka khēṇṭe pere khēṇṭe pereye leoda ḡotketa. Ado uniye jōmlede puṭhi hakoge, kathae, liṇḍhi sen khone paṛom ḡotena. Ado arhō inigeye ṇam ḡotkedeā.

Ado uni toyoe mēn ḡotketa, Henda buḍhi, cet leka bam sapketko? Eḱṭi khaelōm eḱṭi paelōm.

Ado uni buḍhiye mēnketa, Inige cōṇ ḡaṛi ḡaṛim sabe kan.

¹⁹ The Santali word baiḥaṛ is the name for the low-lying rice-fields, during the rainy season always more or less full of water. It is their best rice-land.

²⁰ Tiny fish, crabs, and so on, are to be found in these rice-fields, when the rains have lasted for some time. They are in the autumn caught by the Santals in a kind of fish-trap called ṭorōḍaṇ, put in an opening made in the earth-ridge on the lower side of the field, through which superfluous water is let out. The jackals are said to feed on fish, crabs, grasshoppers, and so on.

²¹ Buḍhi, old woman, is quite proper when speaking of an old lady, but in addressing it is somewhat disrespectful. When not having any relationship, natural or artificial, with a woman, such a one older than oneself is generally addressed as 'mother', ḡo or ayo.

²² The locality in which the woman is catching fish seems to be some place outside, below or between the rice-fields, where there is water standing. In such places the Santals may catch fish in the way described. The water is first baled out sufficiently to make it possible to reach the bottom with one's hand. People then go into the water, moving about to stir up the mud.

He got up rather down in the mouth and went towards the low-lying rice-fields¹⁹ to hunt for fish and crabs²⁰. Then he met an old woman who was catching fish and said to her: "You old woman²¹, let me also catch fish."

"I have had no end of trouble baling out the water²²," the old woman replied, "I am not going to let you catch fish. Did you perhaps bale out the least part?"

"Oh," the jackal said, "you rotten old woman, if you don't let me catch any, we two shall bite you."

"No, no," the old woman said, "I shall let you catch; don't bite me. Please come! Let us both catch fish and divide them between us."

Thereupon the jackal came down, and they were both catching fish. The old woman was saying: "Now you also stir up the water and make it muddy; we shall make them exhausted²³." Thereupon the jackal also stirred up the water and made it muddy; he was floundering and plunging, jumping about. So he caught a small carp²⁴ and ate it at once. Then the old woman went up to the high ground near by. But the jackal kept on floundering and plunging and making the water muddy. Now, people tell, the carp he had eaten came out of him behind; again he caught this and ate it.

"Look here, old woman," the jackal then called out, "how was it you did not catch any? Wie ich einen gegessen habe, hab' ich einen gefangen²⁵."

"It is the same one, don't you see," the old woman said, "that you are catching again and again."

The fish becomes tired and 'confused' in the generally fairly tepid water, and is easily caught with the hand. I have seen this done, and have always thought that fish of a northern climate would not be caught in such an undignified way.

²³ See preceding note.

²⁴ The fish mentioned, in Santali puṭhi, said to be the small fry of what is called poṭha when fullgrown, is a tiny thing, a few inches long.

²⁵ The jackal again makes use of Bengali.

Ado uniye menketa, Baña, buđhi, etakkogeñ nametkoa.

Ado uni buđhiye menketa, Bañ, ini kangeae, liñdhi tapapge tamte inigeye parom godok kana. Bam patiauk kan khać, ma nāhāk careć gutu cinhawaeme ar jomeme; nelam nāhāk, inigeye parom godoka.

Ado sari buđhiak katha lekage careće gutuadea, are jom hotkedeae. Ado arhō onka kheñte pereye leodayet tahēkan jokheñge uni puñhi hako doe parom gotena. Adoe nelkede [do, careć menaktae. Ado liñdhiye tunumlen doe aikauket, liñdhi do bhugakgetae. Adoe menketa, Henda buđhi, okoe esedtiña?

Ado uni buđhiye metadea, Muci then calakme; uniye dapkatama.

Ado toyoe menketa, Acha, endekhan uni thengeñ calaka.

Ado muci thene calaoena; adoe metae kana, E muci, ma liñdhi dapkatime; mittan sim in aguama. Ado sariye dapkattae, ar mit arere tiāle dohoadea; ado onate calak jokheñ do dal calaka, ado teper teper sađe idika. Ado khangē ađiye khusiyena. Khangē ado mittan sime sap idiadea.

Ado ina mit għari tayom khangē uni toyo do tanditejon osorkedeae, ado bae leteć dareak kan khangē muci then arhōe nir calaoena; adoe metae kana, Iā muci, bañ ic dareak kan do, liñdhi do cedak bam dohqadiña?

Ado muciye menketa, Do kamar then calakme, unige nāhāk liñdhi doe balkatama.

²⁶ The 'shoemaker', muchi, is the name of a low Hindu caste, working in leather, found here and there in the Santal country.

²⁷ In most Santal villages there are blacksmiths, called kamar. If the village is large enough, one kamar is kept; if it is small, two or three villages may have one together. The kamar's work is to make and repair all iron implements used by the villagers, the iron being paid for in money, but all work done, in kind, e. g., 30 seers paddy yearly for each plough a man has. The kamar is a kind of Hindu; some of them also work in other metals than iron.

²⁸ Although a kind of drill may be seen used by the country carpenters (they have not augers and gimlets except imported ones); the most common way of

"Not at all, old woman," the jackal replied, "I am catching different ones."

"Nö," the old woman said, "it is the same one; there is a gap in your hind-quarters; therefore this same one comes through. If you don't believe it, just put a straw through the carp and mark it, and eat it; you will see presently, it is the same that will come through."

In accordance with the old woman's advice he put a straw through the fish and ate it. Whilst he was floundering and plunging again to make the water muddy, the carp passed through. He looked at it and saw that the carp had the straw. Then he felt his buttocks with his paw: he had a gap there behind. "Look here, old woman," he said, "who will be able to close this up for me?"

"Go to the shoemaker²⁶," the old woman replied; "he will cover it for you."

"Very well," the jackal said, "then I shall go to him."

Thereupon he went to the shoemaker and said to him: "Shoemaker, please cover my buttocks; I shall fetch you a fowl for it." And really and truly, he put a patch on for him, and on one side he fringed it for him, so when he was walking, it was flapping and making a rattling rustling sound as he went along. He felt very pleased at this; thereupon he caught a fowl and took it to the shoemaker.

A short while after this the jackal felt a call to stool, and as he was unable to manage, he again ran back to the shoemaker and said to him: "I say, shoemaker, I am unable to answer the call of nature; why did you not put an opening for that purpose for me?"

The shoemaker replied: "Do go to the blacksmith²⁷; he will presently make you an opening for that purpose with a red-hot iron²⁸."

making a hole in wood or in leather is to make use of a red-hot iron of the required size. It might be noted that they make use of the same also to open a boil. A blacksmith is naturally the nearest one to help the jackal.

Ado sari kamar thene calaoena, adoe metae kana, E ho kamar, ma liñdhi bal bhugakkatiñme, mittan sim in aguama.

Ado uni kamare menketa, Do endekhan agu marañanme, endekhan in balmea; ar bankhan do ohon ballema. Okoe badae, aguan com ban con; toyo do adipe ekregea. Agu maranlem, endekhan in balmea; ar bankhan do ohon ballema.

Khange sariye calaoena, ado inā mit ghari khange oka khon con sari mittan maran utar gaya sime ger agu gotkedeā, adoe metae kana, Nukui neleme in aguatmea; ma bal hodeñme. Am do mittan toyoe phasiarayentem meneta, je toyo do sanamko phasiaragea mente. In do ban ekrea, se adom adomko do bale ekrea.

Khange sari sime hataokedeā, ado taku dhupaukate dekeye bal bhugak gotkede khan [goṭa koram senteye ciḍir gotadeteye dar utarketa; ado ghuriḍ bae ruḥlena.

Ado taheñ tahente, kathae, tin din badre con ado uni toyo do mittan atote sim jome calak kan; ado ona tialte dal calak kana, ado teper teper saḍe idik kana. Ado adi raskai aikauket khan do, sereñe diṣa gotketa. Adoe sereñ idiyeta:

Neṭe do jojom Turuk darako kan,

Neṭe do Koeṇḍa rapajko!

Men yoe, darjonpe, bankhanko sumar akatpea!

²⁹ It is very common with Santals to castrate cocks; they perform the operation themselves.

³⁰ The Santals have hand-spindles of sorts, smaller and larger, according to the thickness of the thread or twine to be spun. They consist of a rod, to the lower end of which a small 'wheel' or two cross-bits of a rod are fixed. The smaller hand-spindle, used for spinning yarn, has a rod of iron; this is called taku (like here); the same name is also given to the iron rod on which the yarn is wound in a spinning-wheel.

³¹ The Musalman, or Mogul, cavalry (in Santali called turuk) is still remembered by the Santals as cruel, predatory bands. Mentioned together with these are the Koeṇḍa kings. The traditions of the Santals tell that whilst their ancestors were living in a country called Champa (possibly a part of the Chota Nagpur plateau) the Kisku sept were 'kings'; they had a gar, a fort of some kind, called Koeṇḍa. It must be these who are here referred to; it seems

Thereupon the jackal, truth to tell, went to the blacksmith, and said to him: "I say, blacksmith, please burn a hole for me with an iron in my hind-quarters; I shall fetch you a fowl for it."

"Well then," the blacksmith replied, "bring me the fowl first, then I shall burn a hole for you; otherwise I am certainly not going to do it for you. Who knows whether you will bring me any or not; you jackals are awful cheaters. Bring me the fowl first, then I shall make you a hole with a red-hot iron; and if not, I am certainly not going to do it."

Then, truth to tell, the jackal went, and in a moment from somewhere he really came with a tremendously large capon²⁹ in his mouth, and said to the blacksmith: "Here, look at this one I have brought you. Now be quick and make an opening for me. Because one jackal has been a cheat, you think that all jackals are cheats. As for me, I don't deceive, or, some of us do not deceive people."

The blacksmith then really accepted the fowl, whereupon he made a spindle-rod³⁰ red-hot, and with this he pierced the jackal's hind-quarters; when he did this, the jackal purged and squirted all over the breast of the blacksmith; thereupon he ran off and did not return there anymore.

Now as time passed, it once happened, who knows how long a time afterwards, that this jackal was going to a village to catch fowls; those fringes were flapping when he moved, and it was making a rattling rustling sound, as he went along. As he felt very pleased, he suddenly remembered a song, and commenced to sing, as he passed along:

"Here the devouring Mogul cavalry³¹ are coming,
Here the Koenda kings!"

"Beware³², look out, run away; else they will utterly destroy you!"

strange that the old Santal 'kings' and the Musalman cavalry should be paired together.

³² This does not apparently belong to the 'song', but is a warning shout.

Khange ona atoren hōr dō onkako añjomket khan dō mit mitteko dārketa. Adō uni toyo dō senkate ona atoren sim dō cur mare laga sapetkoa are jometkoa. Adōe jom biyen khane calaoena. Khange onko hōr hō arhōko ruar hecena.

Khange uni toyo dō arhō dosar hilok dō ona atotege sim jome calak kana; adō onē pahile sereñlet lekageye sereñ idiyeta. Khange ona atoren hōr dō arhōko dārketa. Adō mittañ buđhi dō bae dāř dareata; adōe menketa, In dō ohon dāřlea; in doko goē ataringe. Adō onka menkate uni buđhi dō bae dāřleta, mittañ sukri bāřāreye bolō okoyena.

Adō uni toyo dō ona atore senkate onko sim dō lagae lagayetkoa se, cure mare lagayetkoa; haprakkege bachao bachaoteye lagayetkoa. Adō mittañ sandi dō lagae lagakedeā se, ekkalte uni buđhiye oko akan thengeye laga idi gořkedeā. Adō uni sim dōe parom gotena. Adō uni toyo dō uni buđhiye nel nam gořkedeā. Adō uni toyo dō buđhiye metae kana, Ma buđhi, sim sapānme; bañkhan dō nāhāk dāřamelāñ kořēc nūrtama.

Adō uni buđhi dōe meneta, Ma, amte barē sap jōnme; in dō ohon sap dāřelekoa. Khange adō bae rebenlen khan, acēgeye laga sapketkoteye jom biyena. Adō uni buđhi thene calaoena, adōe metae kana, E buđhi, sim bam sap akawadiña; nitok dolāñ nam akatmea. E buđhi, masē menme — Toyo! Adō uni buđhi hōe menketa, Toyo!

Khange gurgute joto dāřae kořēc nūrkettaea. Adō arhōe metae kana, E buđhi, masē menme, — Toyo! Adō uni buđhi Toyo menae menleta, adō dāřae nūrkettaete toyo dō bae pustāuleta; adōe men

³³ The Santals keep pigs; there is no curry they enjoy like that prepared from pig's meat. In appearance the Santal pig very much resembles his wild namesake. As a rule the Santals build a small sty for their pigs at one side of the court-yard, often a little out of sight, a small house, some 2 m. long and 1.50 m. broad, with a thatched roof. At one end there is an entrance that may be shut by means of a few bits of wood hanging down from a cross-bar fixed at the top of the opening. Only a small person would be able to enter such a place.

When the inhabitants of that village heard this, they ran away, every one of them. Hereupon the jackal went, and briskly chasing and catching the fowls in the village he ate them. When he had had his fill, he went away, whereupon the villagers returned.

Now the jackal also the following day went to this village to eat fowls, and whilst passing along he was singing the same song as the first time. Then the inhabitants of the village again ran away. But there was an old woman who did not run away; she said: "I am not running away; they may kill me and do away with me, the rascals." Speaking in this way the old woman did not run away; she entered a pigsty³³ and hid there.

When the jackal reached the village, he chased the fowls for all he was worth, chased and chased, all over; selecting the big ones he chased these. There was a cock he was chasing and chasing; he chased it straight to where the old woman was hiding. The cock passed in there, and the jackal at once caught sight of the old woman. The jackal then said to the old woman: "Hey, old woman, catch the fowl for me; if not, we two shall presently knock your teeth out for you."

"Catch them yourself," the old woman replied, "I am utterly unable to catch them." As she was unwilling, the jackal himself chased and caught fowls and ate until he was satisfied. Thereupon he went to the old woman and said to her: "Old woman, you did not catch any fowls for me; now we have found you, we two. Old woman, say toyo!" The old woman also said toyo.

The jackal then with a spice-roller³⁴ knocked all her teeth out. Then he again said to her: "Old woman, say toyo." Now the old woman meant to say toyo; but as he had knocked

³⁴ As the curry is always prepared with spices of sorts, a spice-roller is a necessary implement in every Santal household. It is a cylindrical stone of a not very large size, called gur'gu. The spices are ground with this; it is also used for other purposes, to crush with; in this case one of the ends is used as a hammer.

goŭketa, Hoyo! Ado onka bae puŭtaulet khan, uni toyo do adiye raŭkayena. Arhōe metae kana, Mase buđhi, toyo menme. Ado menketa, Hoyo! Ado uni toyo do landa landatege oka sen cōe calaoen.

Ado ayup khangē onko dālet hōr doko ruar hečena. Ado unre onko hōr uni buđhiye laiko kana, Jojom Turuk nāhiko chāi kana, hoyo koŭa kanae! Sanam sime jometko do bañ? In hō sim sasape metadiña; ado bañ sapadete nōkōe nelpē, joto dātae koŭe nūr akattiña.

Khangē ado sanam hōrko menketa, Gapa do babon dāra, orakregebo siñ poŭom hataŭkoka, adobo dal gojea.

Ado miť hōre menketa, Baña, onkate do qhobon goč darelea. Inīñ metabon kana, nui buđhi leakage miťtañ sitetren hōrbo benaoea. Ado hana kulhi mučatrebo idikaea, ar onđe durupkate ti dobo lap lapakataea; ado nāhāk uni buđhiye ruhedea, ado unregebo ŭontōr godoka. Ado sanam hōrko menketa, Baña, ŭhikgem menkettabona; mabon onkaegea.

Ado sari sanam hōr thenak sitatko jaoraketa, ado ona ninda bhitartegeko benao goŭkedeā. Ado setak khangē kulhi mučatteko idikadea, ar ako do kapiko, ak sarko, teŭgočko, teŭgako, onka apan apinko haŭhiāu akawana; ado onka ŭontorge menakkoa.

Ado uni toyo do jom hewa se bañ? Ado inā miť ghari khangeko aňjom goŭkedeā, bañma, dāhar dāharteye sereñ aguyeta. Onkage pahil lekae sereñeta, ar bin bōtore hijuk kana. Ado noko ato hōr do ŭontorkateko siñ poŭom baŭa akana. Khangē uni toyo do

³⁵ The Santali word for 'jackal' is toyo. They have good ears and enjoy faulty pronunciation of their own language. There are many stories among them, immensely relished, of how foreigners have mispronounced their language. They also have a few stories, the points of which are to tell how Santals have, through false pronunciation, said something very different from what they intended to say.

³⁶ Wax may be found with Santals, although not likely in such quantities as here presupposed. Many kinds of wild bees are found in their country, and the wax is taken from the honeycombs. The Santals use wax for waxing thread; a Hindu caste living in the country use wax for their work as brass-founders.

all her teeth out, she did not pronounce it clearly, and said hoyo³⁵. Then, as she was unable to pronounce it clearly, the jackal felt very pleased. Again he said to her: "Old woman, say toyo!" And she said: Hoyo. Thereupon the jackal went away to who knows where, laughing as he went along.

In the evening all those who had run away came back, and the old woman said to them: "Devouring Mogul cavalry! Just so! no, nothing of the kind; it is a jackal fellow! He is eating all the fowls, don't you see? Me he also ordered to catch fowls, and as I did not catch any for him, look here at me, he has knocked all my teeth out."

Then all of them said: "To-morrow we shall not run away; we shall shut ourselves up in our houses, and then we shall beat him to death."

But one of them said: "No, not so; in such a way we shall never be able to kill him. I have a suggestion: let us make a woman of wax looking like this old woman, and take her to the end of the village street over there; there we shall place the wax-woman in a sitting position and make her arms stand out; then he will commence scolding the old woman; at that moment we shall keep ourselves ready." And all of them said: "Quite so, you have made an excellent proposal; let us act accordingly."

Thereupon they, truth to tell, collected all the wax³⁶ found with them, and spent the night preparing the wax-woman. When it became morning, they took her to the end of the village street, whilst they themselves got hold of battle-axes³⁷, bows and arrows, axes, sticks, and the like, each of them; in this way they kept themselves ready.

Now the jackal had acquired the habit of eating, as you know. A short while afterwards they heard him, he was coming along the road singing. He was singing just like previously and was coming along without fear. The village people kept themselves ready, having shut themselves up in their houses. When the jackal reached the end of the village street, he caught sight of

kulhi mucatreye seteren khan dō uni sitetren budhiye nelkede tiye lap lapa akat. Adōe ruhet gotkede, Mēn budhi, ocoḱaḱme! Cedakem ešet akadiṇa? Holanok ḱaṭaṇ koṭeḱ nūrlettam dō bam botorok kana? Mēn, hōr aṛak hoṭaṇme, baṇkhan nāhāḱlaṇ ṭhaya biṭ gotmea.

Adō bae ocoḱ kante sariye ṭhaya gotkede. Adō sari ona sitetregē jaṅga dō laṭha ṭarhaoentaea. Adō uni toyoe mēneṭa, Mēn budhi, aṛakkaṇme! Ayoge, nui budhi dō jaṅgae sapḱidiṇ dō. Iṭ budhige, bam aṛagiṇ khan nāhāḱlaṇ ceṭak gotmea.

Adō sari onka ruhet ruhet bae chaḱao dareat khane ceṭak gotkede. Adō ona ti hō laṭkaoentaea. Adō uni toyoe mēneṭa, Ayoge, nui budhi dō ti hō yae sapḱidiṇ dō. Adō nhōa titeye ceṭaklede dō, ona hō laṭkaoentae. Adō joṭo laṭkaoentae khangeye metae kana, Ayoge, iṭ budhi, joṭo ti jaṅgae sapḱidiṇ dō! Mēn budhi, aṛakkaṇme, baṇkhan nāhāḱlaṇ ger aḱomea.

Adō sari bae paskao dareat khan dō bae ger gotkedete? Adōe gerkede khan, ḱaṭa hō ona sitetregē laṭha ṭarhaoentaea; adō rōr hō bae rōr dareata. Adō oṇḱegeye laṭ paṭao biṇḱarena.

Adō ḱher hābiḱ hoeyen khan, onko ato hoṛko mēneṭa, Henda ya, enanre hijuk lekabo aḱauledea; adōe oka seḱena? Bae aḱaḱ kan dō. Adō oḱokkate oṇṭe noṭeko beṇgeṭ baṛayeta. Adō khangē kulhi mucat seṇre kha khōḱ kan baṇko aṇjom gotkede? Adōko mēneṭa, Oṭe ya, oṇṭere menaea. Adō seṇ hōḱkateko nelkede dō, uni sitetren budhi ṭhene biṇḱar akan. Khange adō nīr seṇkate kaṇpitemo mak goḱ gotkede, ar ṭheṅga-kote hō bogeteko dalkede luṭhum luṭhum.

Adō cabayena uni toyo reak katha dō; eṇḱegeko moḱor me-ṭaokede.

³⁷ The old battle-axes (of various shapes) are still found in Santal houses, and also manufactured by the above mentioned kamars. They are now used exclusively in sacrifice, and even there they are gradually disappearing.

³⁸ A commonly used ejaculation, signifying astonishment, horror, pain, resentment.

the wax-woman, with arms stretched out, and he commenced scolding: "Have a care, old woman! get out of the way for me! Why have you blocked the road for me? Yesterday I knocked your teeth out, are you not afraid? Beware, get out of my way; if not, we two shall presently kick you and fix you in no time."

As she did not get out of his way, he really gave her a kick. Then, truth to tell, his foot stuck in the wax and was fixed there. The jackal then said: "Take care, old woman, let me go! Oh mother³⁸, this old woman has caught hold of me. You unspeakable old woman, if you don't let me go, I shall give you a slap now."

And truth to tell, as the jackal could not free himself by scolding in this way, he gave her a slap. Then his paw also stuck, and the jackal said: "Oh mother, this old woman has caught hold of my hand." And as he slapped her with his other paw, that also stuck. And when all his feet had stuck, he said to her: "Oh mother, this unspeakable old woman, she has caught hold of all my hands and feet! Take care, old woman, let me go; otherwise we two shall bite you presently."

And truth to tell, as he was unable to escape, did he not bite her? And when he bit her, his teeth also stuck fast in the wax; then he was not able to speak either. So he fell down there on that spot exhausted.

When a considerable time had passed, the villagers said: "Look here, some time ago we thought that he was coming; then what has become of him? Nothing can be heard any longer." They thereupon went out and looked in all directions; then did they not hear him puffing and panting somewhere at the end of the village street? So they said: "Listen, he is over there in that direction!" Going a little distance they caught sight of him, fallen down beside the wax-woman. So they ran up to him and killed him with a battle-axe, they also struck him blow after blow with sticks, thud upon thud.

Now there the story of the jackal is ended; then and there they utterly finished him.

13. Toyo ar sim hoponko reak katha.

Sedae jugre, kathae, mittan toyo ar sim phulkin pataoketa; adi barié unkin dokin gateyena. Ado taheñ tahente mit din dokin menketa, Iq phul, alañ do ađilañ gateyena, adolañ nē-pōotaka.

Ado sime menketa, Acha bogege, eñdekhanlañ nēpōotaka.

Ado toyoe menketa, Acha, eñdekhan am jom lağıt in kulau julaua, ar am hō in jom lağıt kulau julauame; ar bana hop hanđilañ dohqea.

Ado sari onkakin cepetente bana horge hanđikin dohqoketa. Sim do horo, jonđra, bajra, janhe, se okako ace jom, onako

¹ This story has many points in common with the preceding one, but is in certain ways essentially different. The jackal is the false friend and the villain; he eats his friend the hen and wants to eat her chickens. In the first story the chickens escape, and the jackal comes to grief, after a good many eventful happenings. Here the chickens take action, engage the help of an egg, a pestle and a mortar, and manage to kill the villain, and end by eating his brain in revenge.

² To give parties, or to entertain, except on special occasions such as marriages, certain family gatherings, and similar functions, is not common, but not unknown. To invite friends to drink beer, when such is brewed, is common. 'Flowers', like the two ones here mentioned, entertain each other; this is customary.

³ The beer manufacture here described is, as will be understood, not the way in which Santals go about doing it. The story may possibly imply that the 'persons' referred to manufacture their own kind of beer, something quite different from what Santals have. In any case Santal humour will enjoy the idea of beer manufactured as here told. As it may be of some interest, a description of how the Santals manufacture their beer is here given. They now-a-days commonly brew beer from rice; and it is this brewing which is here described.

The first thing is to prepare the pot in which the beer is to be manufactured. Any earthenware pot with a fairly large mouth will do, what the Santals call *țukuc* or *hanđha* (the latter is the larger kind), especially the former one. The *țukuc* is filled with dry leaves, straw, &c., which is set fire to. This is done in the morning of the day when they are going to start brewing. It takes some hours before everything is burnt. The pot is generally put a short distance away from the house, as there is much smoke. When the pot has cooled down, the ashes are taken out, and the stuff to be used is put in. This is prepared in

13. THE JACKAL AND THE CHICKEN¹.

ONCE upon a time in a former age, people tell, a jackal and a hen engaged themselves to be flower-friends for life; they became very close companions. As the time passed, they one day said: "I say, flower, we two have become very close companions; now we shall invite each other and feast²."

"Very well," the hen said, "then let us invite each other and feast."

"All right," the jackal said, "then I shall provide the necessities for you to eat, and you also must provide for me to eat; and we shall both of us brew beer."

Having consulted together in this way they actually both of them started brewing beer³. The hen took paddy, maize, bajra

the afternoon. They take rice (*teko caole*, rice boiled in the husks before it is husked, what they use for their ordinary food, and not *adwa caole*, rice husked after having been dried in the sun, not boiled) and roast this a little. The roasting is said to give a certain flavour to the beer. Thereupon the rice is boiled, and after boiling spread out to dry. The quantity of rice used for one brew varies from four to six *pai*, or even to ten *pai*; it all depends on how many may be counted on to drink, and, of course, on the ability of the house to give rice for this purpose. One *pai* is half a seer; this is very nearly equal to one kg.

When the rice is fairly dry, it is mixed with *raṇu*, some vegetable fermenting stuff, which is rolled and ground and prepared. It might be mentioned that the *raṇu* ordinarily consists of some four or five different vegetable ingredients; generally it is bought in the markets prepared, in small white balls; but most Santals know how to prepare it. As the primary object of a Santal drinking is to become drunk, it is very common that certain vegetable poisons are added to the *raṇu* to make the beer intoxicating. I have heard as many as 23 different ingredients mentioned, of course not all used at the same time, only one or two in addition to the fermenting stuff, for the purpose mentioned. Especially the Hindu *suṇḍi* caste, which manufactures and sells beer in the country, makes use of these poisons, to make their clients quickly drunk. When they are drunk and continue to drink, the *Suṇḍis* are reported to give them practically only water in the last cups sold. It has several times happened that people who have been to such shops and have drunk have died on their way home, from the effects of these poisons.

reake d̥oh̥oketa. Ar toyo d̥o kak̥ra, ghirri, sosroć, roṭe, hako emanteak, uni h̥o okako aće j̥om, onako reake d̥oh̥oketa.

Ado p̥e pon m̥āh̥a khang̥e simak̥ d̥o isinena, ad̥o sime m̥eneta, Cele phul, amak̥ d̥o isinok̥ kana s̥e bañ? Iñak̥ d̥o isinena, heṛem̥ge so kana.

When the rice and the r̥anu are properly mixed, it is all put into the brewing pot, prepared as described above, generally in the evening. The contents of the pot (the boiled rice has swollen, so that the pot will be fairly full) are covered with a leaf-plate, pressed down on the rice. Another leaf-plate is put over the mouth of the pot, and a ḍhak̥nić, an earthenware lid for such pots, or a small cooking pot is put on the top, to keep it all in proper position. There is now nothing more to be done for some days, so the brewing pot is put aside in some place where people do not often go, commonly in the bhit̥ar, the 'stall' walled off for the worship of the ancestors. As it must not tumble over, the pot is placed on a biñḍi, a ring of straw made for putting pots on.

The rice takes some five days to ferment (isin it is called, the same word as that used for cooking); it can be heard outside the pot when the process is complete. There is an exudation (called j̥har) from the rice, looking like brown water. This stuff is ladled out with a leaf-spoon; it is said to be the most intoxicating part of the beer; it is drunk, generally mixed with a little water; this stuff may be kept, they say, up to a month; it does not go bad. As a rule it is finished very soon.

To get the beer proper, hot water is now poured on the rice left without the j̥har in the pot. During fermentation the rice subsides somewhat in the pot. If not sufficient hot water is available, ordinary cold water may be added, until the pot is full. The ready stuff looks like milk-water, a little brownish in colour. It has a peculiar acid-sweet smell; any one who has drunk a little may be detected by the smell from a considerable distance.

Before people drink, libations are made to Maraṇ buru, the principal national godling, possibly, however, in his capacity of belonging to the ancestors. (The Santal traditions tell that our first parents were taught to brew beer by Maraṇ buru, who came to them and told them he was their grandfather; by drinking the beer he taught them to brew they became drunk and fell in sin, i. e. had sexual intercourse). Further they libate to the ancestors, one after the other. It is done by pouring a little beer out on the floor inside the house (but not in the bhit̥ar) for each.

After this is done, they take a broom (made from the straw of sirom, *Andropogon muricatus*, Retz.) that has not been used to sweep the floor with,

grain⁴, millet⁵, that is to say, what she herself was in the habit of eating, and started brewing from these. And the jackal found lizards⁶, brown lizards⁷, grasshoppers, frogs, fish and so on, i. e., he also took what he was in the habit of using for food, and commenced to brew⁸ from these things.

Some three or four days afterwards the hen's beer was ready brewed, whereupon she said: "Well, flower, how is it, is your beer getting ready or how? Mine is ready brewed; it has a sweet smell."

consequently generally a new one, or one kept for this purpose; this they put into the mouth of the pot with the broom in, the object being to prevent the rice from coming out when they tilt the pot to let the beer run out.

The beer is poured out into brass cups, with rims (this to make it easy to pour out of the cup); if there are enough cups, they drink from these; otherwise the beer is poured from the brass-cup into leaf-cups. Of such they have one kind, called *haṇḍi phuṇḍ*, beer leaf-cup, as the name shows especially intended for drinking beer, although used for any household purpose that it will suit. The *haṇḍi phuṇḍ* is made from one *sal* (*Shorea robusta*, Gaertn.) leaf; both ends are plaited (once on each side of the midrib, which the plaits cover), the plaits being kept in position by a pin of stiff straw, a thorn, or the like, stuck through. Filled up to just below the holes made by the pins at each end such a cup will take about two ounces fluid. It should be mentioned that the beer is stirred with a wooden ladle before it is poured out.

The leaf-cups are filled over and over again; it is said that it will take some twenty of these cups to make a person drunk.

When the first 'edition' is finished, fresh hot water is again poured on the rice; this is called *doja haṇḍi*, second brew beer; it is, of course, not so strong as the first, *taṇ haṇḍi*, poured out beer, as it is called (*taṇ* means to pour out by tilting the container). For the second brew the pot is not filled to the brim.

The same rice must generally also serve for a third brew, called *boḍoḍ haṇḍi*, lit. squeezed out beer. The rice is taken out of the pot and put into a *paṭiā*, a small basket made of bamboo; a little water is poured on, and the rice is squeezed with the hand. Another way is to put the rice inside paddy-straw, a hole being left above for the purpose of putting the right hand in; water is then poured on, and the rice squeezed. The 'beer' that trickles down is received in a cup and drunk.

The rice, or rather the refuse, is given to pigs to eat; if they eat too much, they get drunk, it is told.

Ado uni toyo hōe mēn gōtkeṭa, Hē, phul, ināk hō isinena. Adōkin mēnkeṭa, Eṇḍekhan dō malañ dula arlañ nūia.

Khange sārīkin dulkēṭa; ado toyoe mēnkeṭa, Iṭ phul, dela ināk maraṇlañ nūia.

Khange sime mēnkeṭa, Acha bogege, eṇḍekhanlañ nūia.

Ado sārī toyo oraṭke bana hoṛkin calaoena; ado toyoak haṇḍi-kin nūyēṭa. Ado khange sim dō seage soye kana, ar nū hō bae nūyēṭa. Ado toyoe mēnkeṭa, Henda phul, am dō bam nūyēṭ kan dō?

Ado sime mēnkeṭa, E phul, amaṭ haṇḍi dō seage soyeñ kana; qhōñ nū dareṭetama.

Ado toyo eskargeye nū baṛakeṭa. Bhala, ona sea ṭat dō bañhewa hoṛ dō cekateye nūia? Ado khange sime mēnkeṭa, Iṭ phul, dela adō ināklañ nū aṭkara.

As remarked above, Santals drink in order to become drunk; there is no description needed of a drinking bout. According to what has been told to the writer, they pass through all the stages, some becoming hilarious, others melancholy, some scold and vituperate, others sing and tell stories; some become vile, lascivious and pugnacious, others moral, amiable, religious, and so on. The avowed object is to be able to forget for a few hours the miseries of this world and feel like kings, as they say. Drunkenness is one of the great obstacles to Santal developing.

The above description refers to the manufacture of beer from rice. It is manufactured in the same way from janhe and other cereals, that are husked. It is also manufactured from maize and bajra (*Sorghum vulgare*, Pers.) in the same manner, only omitting the roasting at the start.

It might further be mentioned, that they prepare a kind of beer from matkōm, the dried flowers of *Bassia latifolia*, Roxb.; these are steeped for three days in water, thereupon strained off; raṇu is then added to the water, which is allowed to stand for five days, when it is fermented, and drunk. This stuff is called duhli, not haṇḍi. The Santals also know to distil liquor from matkōm; but such distilling is illicit; those doing it are punished when caught. It is not of very frequent occurrence, but it happens.

The beer has to be 'watered' and drunk when fermentation is ready; they say they may let the fermented stuff stand to next day and then pour on water; but if it is left longer, it turns very sour and unsuitable for any use.

⁴ See preceding note. Bajra is cultivated on high land, hill sides and the like. It is harvested about January. It is more common among other tribes than among the Santals.

They jackal also at once answered: "Yes, flower, mine is also ready brewed." Whereupon they both said: "In that case let us pour water on⁹ and drink."

They consequently poured it out, and the jackal said: "I say, flower, come let us first drink mine."

"All right," the hen said, "let us do so then and drink."

Thereupon they really both went to the jackal's house and commenced drinking the jackal's brew. But the hen was feeling the rotten smell and was unable to drink. "Look here, flower," the jackal said, "you are not drinking anything?"

The hen replied: "Oh flower, your beer smells rotten to me; I am utterly unable to drink yours."

The jackal then drank alone. No wonder, how should any one not accustomed to it be able to drink that rotten stuff? Thereupon the hen said: "Listen, flower, come then let us drink and taste how mine is."

⁵ Millet, in Santali *janhe*, is a jungle corn (*Paspalum scrobiculatum*, L.), fairly common with the Santals. It is cultivated on high land, ripens in Oct.—Nov., when it is cut or (if the straw is short) pulled out and thrashed. The straw is unfit for cattle-food, but is used for some purposes, thus by the potters as kiln fuel. The *haṇḍi* manufactured from *janhe* is said to be very intoxicating.

The hen collected all these kinds of grain to brew from; a Santal, of course, only makes use of one kind at a time.

⁶ The jackal collects what he is in the habit of eating, to manufacture beer from that; according to Santal ideas it must have become a wonderful brew. The first-mentioned lizard (in Santali *kakṛa*) is a very common one, seen everywhere. There are several varieties, one with a red head. *Araḥ kakṛa bōhōk*, lit. Red lizard head, is a veiled name for a police constable among them, a part of the uniform of these people being a red turban.

⁷ What has been called 'brown lizard' is another very common reptile, by the Santals called *ghirpi*. They have some stories of having seen such a *ghirpi* come out of the mouth of a sleeping person; when the sleeper awoke, he told he had had such and such a dream; when put to the test, it was found that the dream, which to a large extent corresponded with the movements of the lizard, was true. Consequently, the lizard was the soul of the person out on an expedition.

⁸ Brew according to jackal ideas.

⁹ See above note 3.

Khange adɔ sim ɔraktekin calaoena, adɔ uniakkin nūyeta. Adɔ aɖi sebelkin aɖikauefa. Khange tho adɔ nūkin nūyeta se, bebaɖickin nūketa. Khange tho adɔ sim ɖe lahraok kana, adɔ uni toyo ɖo mone moneteye kurmurauk kana, adɔe meneta, Durre! nuiak haɖi ɖo aɖi sebeltaea. Hɔɖet hɔ jaɖi khube sebel cɔn cet cɔn. Hape nāhāke bul gitiɖen khan ɖon jomea.

Adɔ kathae, uni sim ɖo bulente kɔbɔk kɔbɔgok kanae. Adɔ kathae, un jokheɖ uni toyo ɖo raskateye sereɖ gotketa (sereɖako ɖon rarte):

Bargere, sim, nalom naɖina,
 Nam nelte, sim, toyoe land kan,
 Gaɖiare, kɔk, nalom naɖina;
 Rote kaɖa mente suram sogakket.
 Haɖi ɖo, sim, nalom nūia;
 Nam nelte, sim, toyoe land kan.

Onka uni toyo ɖo, kathae sereɖjon kana.

Adɔ uni sim ɖo aɖitefa lahraoena. Ar onae sereɖ barayet jokheɖe uni sim enɖaren hoponko ɖoko neɖel kan tahēkana. Adɔe bul gitiɖen khan ɖe hɔhɔae kana, E phul, ma beretme; ma bana hɔɖan sereɖa.

Adɔ uni sim ɖo cet hɔ bae roɖeta, gitiɖ thirenae. Adɔ un jokheɖgeye jom gotkede. Adɔ onko sim hoponko ɖoko rak barayeta.

Adɔe jom biyen khan ɖe calaoena. Adɔ aɖ ɔakre senkateye gitiɖ akana, adɔe meneta, Durre! sim jel ɖo aɖi sebeltakoa. Gapa ɖo onko hopon hɔ jotoɖ jom cabakoa.

Ado onko sim hopon ɖoko tuaren khanko bud barajon kana, Cekakotebo asuloka, ar uni toyo ɖo cet lekatebo gojea? Adɔ un

¹⁰ There is a ɖon dance with a peculiar ɖon drumming; there are ɖon songs with ɖon melodies.

¹¹ The paddy-bird is very common in the Santal country. There are several species. The Santal name for some of these, kɔk (with a prefixed word to

jokheḡe, kathae, uni toyo dḡe heḡ goḡena; adḡe metako kana, Cedak bhagnape rakjoṇ kana?

Adḡo metae kana, Hola mahṇḡerre, mamḡ, eṅgaṇe goḡ baḡi-atlea, onatele rak baḡajoṇ kana.

Adḡe kulikeḡkoa, Okarepe gitiḡa?

Adḡo laiadea, baṇma, Culḡare ale dḡle gitiḡ kana.

Adḡe metaḡkoa, Acha bogege. Ma eṇḡekhan dandha baḡajoṇpe.

Adḡ kathae, uni toyo dḡe calaoena. Adḡ onko sim hoṇḡoṇ dḡ ako moḡko galmaraoḡeta, baṇma, Nui toyo dḡ dhorage nāhāk abo dḡe jombongea; onatege gitiḡ reak dḡe kuliyetbona, okarepe gitiḡa mente. Holanok aboren ayo hḡ thḡ nui toyogeye jomkedetabona. Ma nui toyo dḡ teheṇ dḡbo goḡegea. Nḡkḡe ṇelta-bonpe, ayo dḡe bele oḡokata. Adḡ oḡḡe busaga ona bele dḡ? Ona beletegebo goḡ ocoyea.

Adḡo meṇketa, E ya bele, am dḡ culḡare tahentabonme; uni toyobo goḡea; mḡt nāhāk sobok kārā ḡodeme. Ar am dḡ ya tok, kocare tahentabonme; jemḡon mḡt nāhāke sobogea, ṇir oḡokok jokheḡ nāhāk am dḡ dal gitiḡ ḡodeme. Adḡ ukhurko metae kana, E ya ukhur, am dḡ duar ṡhenak sate ṡhen tāḡaktabonme; jemḡon nāhāk oraḡ bhitri khone ṇir oḡok ḡodoka, un jokheḡ nāhāk am dḡ ota ḡodeme. Nui toyo dḡ noṇḡe gebo goḡ utaḡea.

Adḡo meṇketa, Tise hijuka?

¹³ See p. 166, note 6.

¹⁴ A large wooden pestle.

¹⁵ The construction of the Santali language in this place is somewhat 'ungrammatical', but like what is often heard.

¹⁶ The ukhur is a large wooden mortar found in practically every Santal household. It is made of a log, some 30 cm., more or less, in diameter, and some 40 to 60 cm. high, hollowed out at one end, generally with a little 'waist' to make it easier to handle and less heavy. It is used for husking rice and for other similar purposes. Many who cannot afford a ḡhiṅki have an ukhur and a tok. The ukhur is found all over the East; but the Santal form seems to be nicer to look at than what is generally seen with other races.

¹⁷ The eaves over the front side of the house are generally coming further out than at the other sides, in this way giving roof to a small front verandah. The entrance door is here.

to kill that jackal?" Just at that time the jackal suddenly came and said to them: "Why, nephews and nieces¹³, are you crying?"

"A few days ago, uncle¹³," they replied, "our mother died and left us; therefore we are crying."

"Where do you sleep?" he asked them.

"We sleep in the fire-place," they answered.

"Very well," he said to them, "now then take care to maintain yourselves."

Thereupon the jackal went away, and the chickens had a talk together, saying: "This jackal will without doubt presently try to eat us; therefore he is asking us about the place where we sleep. Yesterday this jackal ate our mother also. Come, let us kill this jackal to-day. Here, look, mother has laid an egg that she has left behind. Who is going to hatch out this egg? By the aid of this egg we shall get him killed."

So they said: "Listen, you egg! you please stay in the fire-place for us; we are going to kill this jackal; you hit his eyes and make him blind! And you, you pestle¹⁴, be standing there in the corner for us; just as it¹⁵ hits him in his eyes, when he then runs out, you be quick and knock him down." Thereupon they said to the mortar¹⁶: "Listen, you mortar, you lie in wait for us on the eaves¹⁷ above the door; he will presently run out from the house, at that moment you, please, press him down¹⁸. We shall kill this jackal here on this spot utterly."

"When¹⁹ will he come?" they asked.

¹⁸ The egg, the pestle and the mortar are all addressed as living beings. This does not seem to be Santali imagination. There are also some other points that might point to something borrowed in this part of the story. When the jackal runs out, he seems to be doing so twice, i. e., possibly from one room to another; a Santal house has not more than one room.

¹⁹ The Santali language has two interrogatives for our 'when', one asking about the day, the other about the time of the day. The former is used here.

Ado onko simko menketa, Teheñ ñindage.

Ado sanam horko menketa, Acha bogege, abo sanam hore tuar oco akatbona, ac hõ nenðegebo mohor metaoea.

Khange ado onka apan apinko tãrãkena. Ar sim do tengeocante pakhareko durup thir akana, ar ona bele do lolõ toroçteko topa akata.

Ado ayupen khange uni toyo doe hec gotena; adoko bolõ ocoadea. Ado ekkalte uni toyo do culha duar then senkateye patgãdo eset gotketa, ado banar laha jaŋgate culha toroçe gaduõ gotketa. Khange ona bele do thu gotena, ekkalte meŋtrege paraoadea; adoe kãrã gotena. Adoe itkidok kana are meneta, Khañijonañ! khañijonañ! Adoe ñir odokok kan tahẽkana.

Khange tok bindar gotadea; adoe men gotketa, Khañijonañ, khañijonañ! Ado onka men tuluçgeye ñir odokok kan tahẽkana. Ado duar piñdai paromlet khange sañim khon ukhur ñur gotadea. Khange tho enðegeye tep tepe gotena. Ado onko sim hopon tengeocanteko ñir hec gotena, ado bohokko kuñam gotkede; ekkalte hataŋgeko kuñam totkettaea. Ado ina hatañko jom barakettaea, adoko menketa, Aðoletam! Aði con aleren ayom jomkede; am hõ bale jom halaketmea?

Enõ ado cabayena katha do; in maraŋgea niã do.

²⁰ See p. 166, note 7.

²¹ The word khañi refers to a peculiar practice of the ojhas for finding things out (such as character and cause of diseases) by magic, making marks on the ground or on a leaf. The idea is that the jackal is going to find out who is responsible, so that he may take revenge.

²² The Santali word used is ađo, their most common word for urinating. It is extensively used as an expletive, and also in threatening language, or exultingly, like here. In cases like this it refers to the commonly observed happening that animals, and also human beings, when becoming suddenly frightened, unconsciously pass water. The word is not supposed to be used in this sense by women. As an expletive the women use atar, burn up, in stead.

²³ To eat an animal in revenge is not unknown among the Santals. I remember what happened here many years ago now. The Santals managed to take the

"This very night," the chickens replied.

So all of them said: "All right; he has made all of us orphans; here in this very place we shall make an end to himself also."

Thereupon they all, each one as arranged, lay in wait; and the chickens were sitting quietly in the niche²⁰ with a small axe; and the egg they had buried with hot ashes.

When it became evening, the jackal suddenly came, and they let him come in. The jackal went straight up to the fire-place opening, and sitting down on his haunches he shut this up, whereupon he with both his forelegs vigorously scraped the ashes in the fire-place towards himself. Then the egg burst and got straight into his eyes, so he became blind. The jackal was rubbing his eyes and said: "I shall find out by magic²¹, I shall find out by magic!" Hereupon he started running out.

The pestle then fell down over him, and he called out: "I shall find out by magic, I shall find out by magic!" As he was saying this, he ran out of the house. As soon as he had passed the verandah in front of the door, the mortar suddenly tumbled down on him. There was no help for it, he was at once felled down as long as he was, there, on that spot. Now the chickens at once came running, bringing their axe with them; they hammered his head; they hammered it with such force that the brains came out. Thereupon they ate his brain and said: "You managed it²²! You did much, you ate our mother; now we have eaten you also in return!²³"

So there the story is finished; it is thus much this one.

life of an ugly-looking leopard, measuring seven feet. They brought the dead animal to me and gave me the skin; but, they said, he has eaten so much for us, now we are going to eat him in return, and they did so; no one enjoyed the feed, some even vomited; but it had to go down.

14. Toyo ar kōk_g reaṇ.

Tis con sedae jōkhen, kathae, toyo ar kōk phulkin pataoleṭa, arkin mepenlena, Amaḱ aṭ baṇ calaḱ hiloḱ dō in, ar inaḱ aṭ baṇ calaḱ hiloḱ dō am aṣuliṇtalaṇme. In dō setoṇ din am in aṣulmea, ar am dō jaṭuṭ din aṣuliṇtalaṇme. Ado saṛi ona katha dō bana hoṛkin khusiaṭ khan dōkin hē hūkeṭa.

Khange taheṇ taheṇte toyo dōe meṇkeṭa, Iṭa kōkgeṇ aṣulea, nui por jaṭ dō! Eṅgateṇ aṣul barayea, jāhā lekateṇ buḷaulege, ar miṭ din dōṇ jom goṭkaea. Noa katha dō moṇeregeye dōhokata. Khange galmaraote dō khubkin gateyena, miṭ maḱi mit gaṇ-doyenakin.

Khange miṭ din dō toyoe meṇkeṭa, Iṭa phul, nēotayetmeaṇ, ma niṭa phalna dinre dō in ṭhen hana ṭhāire seṇoktalaṇme, oṇḍe miṭtelaṇ jom nūlege.

Adoe meṇkeṭa, Achaṇ calaḱa.

Khange saṛi din tioken khan dōe calaoena. Ar uni toyo dō aema utaṛ roṭe ar sosroḱe jarwa akatko tahēkana. Ado nui kōke metadea, Ma phul, nōkōe in perayetmea; ma khub leka jowanme aṛim bik haḱiḱ; ar bam bik khan dō laime, arhōṇ aṛti juṭucama.

Adoe meṇkeṭa, Achaṇ jomlekoge, eṅkhanteṇ khoja.

¹ See p. 192, note 11.

² See p. 164, note 1.

³ It does not appear from the Santali text who is to maintain the other during the hot season, and who during the rains. But as the paddy-bird during the rainy season has opportunities of finding food everywhere, it is likely meant it is for this time the bird undertakes the provisioning.

⁴ The word used in the original is very commonly used, both as an abuse and as a term of 'benevolence'; it is really the name of a part of the male anatomy. It is usually cut short and iṭa (which means 'so and so' and is constantly used for any other word not at once remembered, or for some other reason not wanted to be expressly mentioned, also often for the word here suppressed) substituted. The Santali word is eṇḍ. It is not so many years ago that the use of this word as an abuse might be taken up before the Santal village council, and the offender was punished. Now-a-days the word seems to have lost every meaning and may be translated as done. Very frequently 'rascal' would seem to render it.

14. THE JACKAL AND THE PADDY-BIRD.

SOME time or other, who knows when, in the old days, people tell, a jackal and a paddy-bird¹ had engaged themselves to flower-friendship² for life, and had said to each other: "The day you have no means of support, I shall, and the day I am unable to maintain myself, you support me for us. I shall support you during the hot season, and you support me during the rains³". And in very truth, as they both were pleased with this arrangement, they both grunted their assent.

As time passed by, the jackal one day said: "This unspeakable⁴ paddy-bird! I am to support this fellow of another race⁵! Dash it, I shall support him somehow; in some way or other I shall trick him, and then some day I shall eat him." This matter he kept to himself. Talking together they were extremely companionable, they were quite inseparable⁶.

Then one day the jackal said: "Listen, flower⁷, I invite you; please come on such and such a day to me over at that place; there we shall eat and drink together."

"All right," he replied, "I shall come."

When the day came, the paddy-bird actually went and the jackal had collected an immense number of frogs and grasshoppers. He said to the paddy-bird: "Please, flower, look here, you see what I am entertaining you with; please help yourself to your heart's content until you are satisfied; and if you do not get enough, let me know, and I shall give you a second helping."

"All right," he replied, "let me first eat these; then I shall ask for more."

⁵ The word is Hindi and generally has an admixture of contempt, one born by another, of another race or caste, an alien, outside the pale.

⁶ The Santal word cannot be rendered literally; it is said 'the two became one stool, one sitting-board'; it is a common expression for extreme intimacy.

⁷ See p. 164, note 1.

Ado kathae, enko jom jomtegeye aloć paloćena. Khangeye menketa, Ia phul, inaķgeñ joma; jom bhagaoenañ.

Adoe metadea, Acha, eñdeķhan de lañ joharjoña, ar ma lañ apan apinoka. Ado sari johan barakatekin apan apinena.

Ado tinaķ din tayom coñ uni kōķ hōe metadea, Ia phul, mañ nōotayetmea, niā din hilok do in then hañde calakme, oñdełañ jom nūia.

Khange toyoe menketa, Achañ calaka.

Ado kathae, en hilok do aema utař cutia sapketkote mittañ tumbareye bhōrao akatko tahēkana. Ado toyoe hecen khan do, mittañ bunum thene idikedea are metadea, Ma onko tumbareñ dōho akatkoa, jomkom ařim bik dhābić; arhō bam bik khan dōñ emama.

Khange, kathae, tumbare ma moca bañ bōlok kantae. Khange bae tawaķ posak goķketa? Khange adom do jivetko tahēkana; onko doko dař goķketa. Khange cure mare lagayetkoa. Ado un jōkhen do kōķ do bogeteye landawadea. Khange toyo dōe edreyena, menketae, Nui kōķ do manotia laķit do bae nōota akadiña; menkhan nui do landawañ laķitgeye nōota akadiña. Uni toyo do mon monte nonkae edreyena. Adoe menketa, Hape, neko chuťiañ jomlekoge. Johan jōkhenlañ nammea. Ado enko dař sarećko cutiaje jom cabaketkoa.

Ado kōķe kulikedea, Cele phul, bilenam sem bañ?

⁸ Salutation is a formal matter with the Santals and has, on 'official' occasions, to be gone through seriously. A full description of their customs in connexion with this is found in the writer's paper On the different kinds of Salutation used by the Santals, *Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXVII, Part III, p. 35 ss. Two phul are supposed to use so johan, i. e., they both 'receive', or salute in the same way, not like a younger to an older one, or vice versa.

⁹ See p. 169, note 12. A tumbā is, as a rule, long and narrow with a narrow neck.

¹⁰ See p. 172, note 16.

¹¹ See above, note 9.

Now he kept on eating these until he was crammed and over-filled, whereupon he said: "I say, flower, I shall not have any more, I have done eating."

"All right," the jackal said, "then let us salute each other⁸ and say good-bye, and let us part each to our own place." Thereupon they, truth to tell, saluted each other and went each to his own.

Some time afterwards the paddy-bird also spoke to the jackal and said: "Listen, flower, I invite you; on such and such a day come to me over there; we shall eat and drink there."

"All right," the jackal replied, "I shall come."

Now, people tell, that day the paddy-bird had caught an immense number of mice and put them into a gourd⁹. When the jackal came, he took him near a white-ant hill¹⁰ and said to him: "You see these I have put into the gourd; please eat of them until you are satisfied; if you do not get enough, I shall give you more."

Now the jackal could not get his snout into the gourd¹¹. Then did he not dash the gourd down on the ground and break it? Now some mice were alive; these ran away at once, and the jackal chased them all he could. When this happened, the paddy-bird laughed heartily. Then the jackal became angry and said¹²: "This paddy-bird has not invited me to do me honour; but he has invited me to laugh at me." In this way the jackal was angry in his heart. So he said: "Wait a little, let me first eat these mice; when we salute each other-we two¹³ shall find you." Thereupon he ate the mice that were left after the others had run away.

The paddy-bird then asked him: "How is it, flower, are you satisfied or not?"

¹² The paddy-bird is not supposed to hear what the jackal says.

¹³ Here and below in several places the inclusive dual of threatening language.

Ado menketa, Ho khub in biyena, phul. Ado cigari leka noa katha do metadea; tãhã bae bilena. Ado toyoe menketa, Iã phul, de lañ johan hotjoña. Jom biyente erseñ torseñ in aikaueta; gitiẽge sanayediñ kana. Adolañ apan apinokteñ gitiẽ jiraujoña.

Ado kôke menketa, Acha, de endekhanlañ johanjoña.

Ado kathaekin johanjoñ kan tahẽkan jokhengeye ota gotkede-teye ger goẽ gotkede. Khange uni toyo do adiye raskayena, are menketa, Am do enanem landa akawadiña. Ona bodol am hõ nit do landakatelañ jommea. Ado kathae, khub togoẽ daña nõkkate se thora do isir nõkateye jome kana. Khange uniak do jotqe jom cabakettaea; cettet hõ bae sareclettaea, jañ hõ jañ, rama hõ rama, mit mitteye jomkettaca. Ado khange khube biyena ar monre adi raskai aikauketa. Ado raskate mittañ kathae ror gotketa, nonka leka: Tumbã tumbã cutia khaelom, bunum danañ kôk khaelom tui here. Ado nonka rorkate bar dhaoteye don don gotketa. Ado onde khone calak kana, ar raskate oka leka coe tarãm idiyet kan.

Ado calak calakte mittañ sim ac lahareye atin kane nelkede khane hoho gotketa. Men sim, hor ocokame, bankhan in jom gotmea. Tumbã tumbã cutia khaelom, bunum danañ kôk khaelom, tui here. Khange uni sim hõ hor bae ocokadete nuiye jom gotkede.

Arhõ onde khone calak kana. Ado calak calakte ac lahare mittañ merome nel namkede. Ado hoho gotketa, Men merom, hor ocokame, bankhanlañ jom gotmea. Tumbã tumbã cutia khaelom, bunum danañ kôk khaelom, tui here. Ado uni merom hõ bae ocoklente kathaeye jom gotkede.

¹⁴ See p. 196, note 23.

¹⁵ The jackal's outburst is partly Santal, partly rustic Bengali. The Bengali words are translated in German. The last two words, tui here, are doubtful. Tui is a form of the pers. pron. used in addressing inferior persons; here is an interjection, 'hey there'.

"O flower," he replied; "I am extremely well satisfied." It was sarcastically that he said, this to the other one; in reality he had not had his fill. The jackal then said: "I say, flower, come let us salute each other and say good-bye at once. I have eaten so much that I feel unable to sit or stand; I feel the need of lying down. Let us separate and lie down and rest."

"All right," the paddy bird said, "come then, let us salute each other."

Whilst they were saluting each other, it is told, the jackal suddenly pounced upon the paddy-bird and pressed him down, and at once bit him and killed him. The jackal then became very pleased and said: "A short while ago you were having a laugh at me; in return¹⁴ for that we two shall now have a laugh at you also and eat you." Thereupon he ate the paddy-bird, gnashing his teeth somewhat or snarling a little. He ate up all there was of him; he did not leave the least bit of him; even his bones and his claws he ate, every bit. Ultimately he had his fill and more and felt very pleased in his mind. Out of sheer joy he called out as follows: "Gourdfuls of mice habe ich gefressen¹⁵; behind the white-ant hill habe ich the paddy-bird gefressen, du da!" And having spoken thus twice, he jumped and jumped. Thereupon he went away from that place, and out of joy he walked along in an indescribable way.

As he was walking along, he caught sight of a fowl in front of him, picking and feeding, and called out: "Take care, fowl, get out of my way; else I shall eat you in a trice. Gourdfuls of mice habe ich gefressen; behind the white-ant hill habe ich the paddy-bird gefressen, du da!" And as the fowl did not get out of his way, he ate it also.

From there he went further on. As he was passing along, he caught sight of a goat in front of him, and called out: "Take care, goat, get out of my way; else we two shall eat you in a trice. Gourdfuls of mice habe ich gefressen; behind the white-ant hill habe ich the paddy-bird gefressen, du da!" Then, as the goat did not get out of his way either, he ate it also.

Ado arhō ōṇḍe khon calak calakte ac lahare mitṭan bhiḍiye ṇelkedeā. Khangeye hōhō goṭketa, Mēn bhiḍi, hōr ocoḱanme, baṅkhanlaṅ jom goṭmea. Tumbā tumbā cutiā khaelom, bunum danaṅ kōḱ khaelom, tui here. Ado kathae, uni hō bae ocoḱlenteye jomkedeā.

Ado arhō ōṇḍe khone calak kana. Calak calakte ac lahare mitṭan gaiye ṇelkedeā. Khangē ini hōe hōhōadeā, Mēn gai, ocoḱme, baṅkhanlaṅ jommea. Tumbā tumbā cutiā khaelom, bunum danaṅ kōḱ khaelom, tui here. Khangē uni gai hō bae ocoḱlen khane ger goḱkedete im bōrōe jomketṭaeā.

Arhō ōṇḍe khone calak kana. Ado calak calakte ac lahare mitṭan bitkile ṇel ṇamkedeā. Ado khangeye hōhō goṭadeā, Mēn bitkil, hōr ocoḱanme, ar baṅkhanlaṅ jom goṭmea. Tumbā tumbā cutiā khaelom, bunum danaṅ kōḱ khaelom, tui here. Ado kathae, uni bitkil hō bae ocoḱlente ṇir senkate uniye ger gitiḱ goṭkedeā, ar uniak im bōrōe jomketṭaeā. Khangē bebāriḱe bi puṇ puṇena.

Ado arhō ōṇḍe khone calak kana. Khangē calak calakte mitṭan darha ac lahareye ṇel ṇamketa. Khangeye hōhō goṭketa, Mēn darha, ocoḱme, baṅkhanlaṅ ṇū aṇjeṭ goṭmea. Tumbā tumbā cutiā khaelom, bunum danaṅ kōḱ khaelom, tui here. Ado kathae, ona darha hō baṅ ocoḱlena; bhalā ona dō okate ocoḱoka? Ado kathae, ṇir senkate ona hō ṇūye ṇūketa se, jōṭo dake ṇū cabaketa. Khangē artēte biyena.

Ado inakate arhō ōṇḍe khone calak kana. Ado calak calakte ac lahare mitṭan khuṇṭiye ṇelketa. Ado hōhō goṭketa, Mēn khuṇṭi, ocoḱme, ar baṅkhanlaṅ dōn parommea. Ado kathae,

¹⁶ When wild beasts kill other animals, it is with many of them the custom to start eating from behind (the genitals); the liver, lungs, heart and kidneys are apparently delicacies and taken before the flesh. The jackal follows this custom.

¹⁷ The Santal khuṇṭi is a post of any form fixed at one end. It is not necessarily high.

As he was again passing along from that place, he caught sight of a sheep in front of him, and called out: "Take care, sheep, get out of my way; else I shall eat you in a trice. Gourdfuls of mice habe ich gefressen; behind the white-ant hill habe ich the paddy-bird gefressen, du da!" And as the sheep did not get out of his way either, he ate it also.

Then he went further from there also. As he was passing along, he saw a cow in front of him, and he called to this one also: "Take care, cow, get out of the way; else we two shall eat you. Gourdfuls of mice habe ich gefressen; behind the white-ant hill habe ich the paddy-bird gefressen, du da!" Then as the cow did not get out of the way, he bit her and killed her and ate her liver and lungs¹⁶.

He went along from there also. Then as he passed along, he caught sight of a buffalo cow in front of him, and called out to her: "Take care, buffalo cow, get out of my way; else we two shall eat you in a trice. Gourdfuls of mice habe ich gefressen; behind the white-ant hill habe ich the paddy-bird gefressen, du da!" Then, people tell, as the buffalo cow did not get out of the way either, he ran up to her and bit her at once, so she fell down, whereupon he ate her liver and lungs. Then he was awfully crammed and distended.

Thereupon he went along from there also. As he was passing along, he caught sight of a water-pool in front of him, and called out: "Take care, water-pool, get out of the way; else we two shall drink you dry in a trice. Gourdfuls of mice habe ich gefressen; behind the white-ant hill habe ich the paddy-bird gefressen, du da!" Now, people tell, the water-pool did not get out of the way either; I wonder, where should it remove itself to? Then, people tell, the jackal ran down there and commenced to drink that also; he drank and drank; he drank all the water up. Consequently he became still fuller.

Thereupon he went along from that place also. As he was passing along, he saw a wooden post¹⁷ in front of him, and called out: "Take care, post! get out of the way, else we two shall jump

khunṭi hō bañ ɔcɔklena. Khangeye mēn ɔtṭketa, Tumbā tumbā cuṭiā khaelom, bunum danañ kōk khaelom, tui here. Onka mēn-kateye dōn paromet tahēkan dō, khunṭirege laḥe bhosa ɔtenteŷe sobok ɔcōena.

Ado enēñ purauketa niā katha dō.

15. Toyo ar kulai reañ.

Kulai ar toyokin galmaraaona, Alañ dō phullañ pataoa. Phulkin pataoketaa, dōkin mēnjoñ kana, Iā, phul, lañ toa dakaea. Khan adō en hiloḥ dō haṭ din tahēkana. Adō oka horte hoṛko haṭteko hijuk seṇok, ona hoṛ aṛere por latarre uni kalai dōe burum hape akana, ar toyo dō pharak nōkreŷe tāṛāk akan tahēkana.

Ado khangē ona horte caole aḥriñkoko calak kana, adō uni kulaiḥo nēl nāmkedea. Khan caole dōhokate haṇḍe ota nhaṇḍe otako ota baṛayedea. Un jōkheḥ toyo dō caoleŷe aṭkir ɔtṭketa, adō tayomtekin nāpamena. Nāpamkate kulai dō toyoe kulikedeā, Cele, aṭkirkettalañam?

Ado mēnketa, Hēñ aṭkir akata.

¹ This story has many points in common with the two previously recorded ones, about a jackal and a hen and a jackal and some chickens. Here it is a hare who acts the other part. The narrator was a man named Kanhu Marndi, who died in Mesopotamia some years ago. Kanhu was, for a Santal, a very well educated man; he belonged to village Chondorpura in Jubdi (or Damin-i-koh, as this part of the Santal Parganas district is called, a Government estate), and all his environments were fairly different from those of Sagram Murmu, who has taken down so many of these stories. This may to a certain extent explain the difference in their stories; originally identical, the stories may in the course of time have been clothed in different garb in different parts of the country. The language of this narrator is very different from that of Sagram. The latter is a born story-teller; he has a beautiful, easy-flowing language, just as it is spoken in the villages. He apparently enjoys telling, recording many details, and now and then also recording his own ideas and speculations. Kanhu's language is of a more dignified character and a good deal more staccato than that of the

right over you!" Now, people tell, the post did not get out of the way either. The jackal then called out: "Gourdfuls of mice habe ich gefressen; behind the white-ant hill habe ich the paddy bird gefressen, du da!" Saying this he tried to jump over; the wooden post ran into his stomach, and he was stabbed to death. So there I have finished this story.

15. THE JACKAL AND THE HARE¹.

A hare and a jackal had a talk together: "Let us two engage ourselves to flower-friendship² for life." They did so, and they said among themselves: "I say, flower³, let us prepare rice porridge⁴." Now it was market-day that day, and close to the road by which people were going to and coming from the market the hare crouched under a bush and kept quiet, whilst the jackal was lying in wait a little distance off.

Presently people who were going to sell rice⁵ came along this road, and they caught sight of the hare, whereupon they put their rice down and chased the hare, trying to pounce on him, now here, now there. Meanwhile the jackal made haste and carried the rice off; afterwards the two met; then the hare asked the jackal: "Well, did you carry anything off for us?"

"Yes," the jackal said, "I did."

other one. He is not so unconscious. His language may perhaps show traces of his having been to school.

² See p. 164, note 1.

³ See p. 165, note 3.

⁴ What in Santali is called *toa daka*, lit. milk boiled-rice, is prepared by boiling sundried rice (*adwa caole*) in milk. It is not a common dish with the Santals, and is considered somewhat better than the ordinary. It is a dish more common among the Hindus than among the Santals.

⁵ Here and in the following things are mentioned that are supposed to be brought to every market-place every market-day, necessities of the daily life of the villagers. Rice is the staple food of all classes of people in these parts.

Ina tayom arhō onkage toyo dōe tārāk akana ar kulai dōe obor akana. Khan adō toa ikdiyié hōrē nēlkedea. Uni hō onkage toa dōhokate hanḍe nhandeye ota barayedea. Enkate aḍi sāngiñe khudaḍu idikedea. Adō oña takre toyo dō toae atkirketa. Khudaḍu mōkoñkate uni hōr dōe hec ruḥrena are calaoena ekenakge. Tayomte unkin dōkin nāpamena. Adō kulai dōe kukli kana, Cele, phulem atkirketa?

Mēnketae, Hēñ atkir akata.

Ina tayom sahan aḱkrinḱoko calak kana, ar uni kulai hō pāhil leka galasañe obor hape akana. Sēn tiokkede khanko nēlkede, kulaiye burum akan. Adō onko hō sahan dōhokateko lagayede kana. Laga laga aḍi sāngiñko lagakedea, ota ota bako ota nāmledea, ar sahan pataṛākkote hō bhaḡeteko lebda barakedea. Nōṭe inakṭege toyo dō sahan atkirketa. Khan adō miṭ ṭhenkin nāpamena. Adōe kuliyedea, Cele, phulem atkirketa?

Adōe mēnketa, Hēñ atkirketa.

Ona rōr barakate arhō pāhil lekagekin tārākena. Khange miṭ ḡhāri tayom kuñkāl bhajanko idiyet kana. Adō uni kulai dō hōrre menaea sē bañ? Nēl nāmkedeaako, adō bhajan dōhokateko otaye laḡit. Hanḍe nhande ota bara ota bara aḍi sāngiñko lagakedea. Inakṭege uni toyo hōe nīr hecena, ar miṭṭaṇ bhajane atkir ḡotketa. Adō toyotekin arhōkin nāpamena. Adōe kuliyedea, Cele, phulem atkirketa.

⁶ Milk is not much used by the Santals for drinking; as for the Hindus, it is what they value very highly. Santals use milk for preparing ghl, for preparing food, like here, and for a few other purposes; Santal children get, of course, milk to drink; grown up Santals very seldom take milk 'neat'. They like to let it stand to become da he, sour milk, or kephir.

⁷ In these parts fire-wood is to be had on the market-places, thin branches or pieces of wood, cut to short lengths (40 to 50 cm. long) and split. In other parts dried cow-dung, in cakes or rolled round the peeled stalk of jute or the like, is the most common fuel. Fuel for cooking food is a great problem in India, and very little is done to get the problem solved.

⁸ Earthenware vessels, for all kinds of household purposes, and of great variety of shape, are manufactured by the local potters; these are not Santals, but a Hindu

After this the jackal was again lying in wait, whilst the hare was squatting. Then a man who was carrying milk⁶ along saw him. This man also in the same way put the milk down and chased the hare hither and thither, trying to catch him. In this way he chased him to a great distance. At that moment the jackal carried the milk off. When he got tired of chasing the hare, the man returned and went away emptyhanded. Afterwards the two met, and the hare was asking: "Well, flower, how is it, did you carry anything off?"

"Yes," he said, "I did."

Afterwards people who sold fire-wood⁷ were passing, and the hare then also as previously was crouching absolutely quiet. When they reached the place, they saw that a hare was crouching there. Then these people also put their fire-wood down and commenced to chase the hare. They chased and chased, until they chased him very far off; they tried again and again to seize him, but could not; they also flung a good many pieces of split fire-wood at him. Meanwhile the jackal made use of his opportunity at his end and carried the fire-wood off. Thereupon the two met, and the hare asked him: "Well, flower, how is it, did you carry anything off?"

"Yes, I did," the other one said.

After having talked this much, they again lay in wait as previously. A short while afterwards some potters came along, carrying earthenware vessels⁸. Now the hare was there on the road, was he not? They spotted him, and having put their pottery down, they started chasing to catch him. Chasing him and trying to catch him, now here, now there, they chased him a very great distance off. In the meantime the jackal also came running and carried a cooking-pot away. Thereupon the hare and the jackal again met, and he asked the jackal: "Well, flower, did you carry anything off?"

caste. It is a curious sight to see these people coming along, carrying their pots, tied together by the necks, hanging down from the ends of a carrying pole, several dozens at a time.

Ado menketa, Hēn atkirketa.

Nokoko calaoen khan, ado arhō uni kulai do lambet hapeyena. Mit gharī khangē patra akriṅkoko calak kana. Khangeko ṅelkede, kulaiye burum akan. Ado onko hō uni kulaike ota legakedea, ar dher saṅgiṅko laga idikedea; bako goe dareadea. Ado toyo do patrae atkirketa. Adokin napamena. Kulikedea, Cele, phulem atkirketa?

Hē, phuliṅ atkirketa.

Nonkate jotoakkin nam tearketa. Sengelge tho okarekin nama? Khangē toyo do mitṭaṅ atote senkate mitṭaṅ raṇḍi buḍhi oraḱte sengel kōkoeye calaoena. Uni buḍhi do jaṇum loboḱe hukruṅ kan tahēkana. Ado uni toyo do menketa. Deṅ buḍhi, sengel emañme.

Uni do menketa, Ma aḡujoṅme. In do reṅgeḱ jalateṅ huṛuṅ-joṅ kana.

Khangē toyo do menketa, Do, amge aḡuaṅme. In nāhāk in huṛuṅ hatara.

Ado buḍhi do sengel aḡui calaoena, ar uni toyo do hukruṅ kana. Huṛuṅ baṛa huṛuṅ baṛa uni do mit ukhuṛem iḱ pereḱkata, ar cetanre do jaṇum lobokteye eṣṱkata. Ado buḍhi do sengele aḡuadea. Ado toyo do menketa, Ia, buḍhi, alom huṛuṅ hatara. Hape, mit por danaṅ ocoaṅme.

Toyo mit pore danaṅen khan, buḍhi do hukruṅe portonketa. Huṛuṅ huṛuṅ, ado iḱe huṛuṅ totketa jaṇum baja jaṇum baja. Ado menketa, Nui toyo do iḱ oṭoaṭtiṅa.

⁹ Leaf-plates are always wanted; the brass thari, or plate, is heavy, and no one has any large number of them. If one has to feed many people, as at a feast, or working people, leaf-plates are used. They are made from sal leaves, fastened together with stiff straw pins. They are used only once and then thrown away. There is one central leaf with three or four others fastened round it.

¹⁰ It is even now a very common thing with the Santals to go to some neighbour to ask for fire. Matches are a 'luxury' with many; to make fire by mechanical means takes some time and exertion, and to keep fire from one day to another is not always successfully done.

¹¹ The woman uses a mortar and a pestle.

¹² The fruit of the jaṇum, Zizyphus Jujuba, Lam., is eaten, both ripe and raw, as an ordinary fruit, or pounded into a flour and cooked, as here. In certain

"Yes, I did," he said.

When these last ones had gone away, the hare again crouched and was lying quietly. A moment afterwards some people passed, who were going to sell leaf-plates⁹. They saw him, there was a hare squatting; and these also tried to seize the hare and chased him a great distance off; they were unable to kill him. And the jackal carried the leaf-plates off. Thereupon they met, and the hare asked him: "Well, flower, did you carry anything off?"

"Yes, flower, I did."

In this way they collected everything necessary. But fire now, where should they get that? The jackal then went to a village to the house of an old widowed woman to ask for fire¹⁰. Now this old woman was occupied pounding¹¹ thorn-plum¹² flour, and the jackal said: "Do, old woman, give me fire."

"Do fetch it yourself," she replied; "I am suffering from hunger¹³ and am occupied pounding."

"Please, fetch it for me you," the jackal said; "I shall pound for you in the meanwhile."

The old woman then went to bring fire, and the jackal was pounding. He pounded and pounded, and whilst doing this he filled the mortar with his own dung, but on the top he covered it with thorn-plum flour. The old woman then brought him the fire, and the jackal said: "I say, old woman, don't pound just now; wait a little, let me get behind one bush¹⁴."

When the jackal had got behind one bush, the old woman commenced to pound. Pounding, pounding, she pounded the dung out, stringy plums, stringy plums, and she said: "This jackal has got away having stooled in my mortar."

respects the fruit reminds one of a plum, having a stone and flesh. The Santals enjoy eating the fruit, especially of the cultivated variety.

¹³ The Santal expression may have a double meaning, either as here translated, or, on account of, forced by poverty.

¹⁴ The expression is a common Santali one, hidden behind one (not a) bush; then no one knows what may happen, or no one will be able to find or find one out. It is more especially used in connexion with women. When a woman is out of sight there is no knowing what she may do!

Ado toyo ruarkate seŋgelkin jolketa arkin toa dakayeta. Toa dakakate ado umokkin apaj kana. Toyo hōe meneta, Do phul, am maraŋ um hijukme; ar kulai hōe meneta, Do, amge um hec maraŋokme. Khange ado toyoge umoke calao maraŋena. Jāhā leka khere peŋeye um gotena; adoe hecena. Tayomte ado kulaiye kolkadea, Do phul, um hec hodokme. Adoe calaoena kulai do. Ađi saphae umok kana ađi gharic.

Notē toyo do celanregeye jom biyena. Jom bikate miŋ celane ickeŋa, ar cetanre do dakateye topakata. Ado kulaiye hecena. Duŋuŋ napamenakin. Ado daka lolokin apaj kana. Toyo hōe meneta, Ma phul, amge loetalanme; ar kulai hōe meneta, Ma phul, amge loetalanme.

Khange ado kulai doe lolo kana. Ado icgeye lo tiokket khane nelket, icge. Ado dađuteye capat barakadea, are menketa, Noa khicri daka lađitge unak hor horten obor barae kana? Adoe laga nirkadea.

Khange toyo do mitane tumdakketa, ar mitan band latarre dinam hilokge jederkateye ru baraea. Ado kulai do miŋ dine

15 The Santali word is used about urging each other to do something first; it may be out of politeness, or it may be because one does not care to take the first step.

16 Here the use of a ladle is mentioned; the story has forgotten to tell where they had procured one.

17 The dancing-drum (tumdak) has a slightly conical body of burnt clay; the body is covered with batches of strips of bullock hide wound tightly round it; both ends are covered with skin, the broad end generally with bullock hide, the narrow end with the skin of a goat or of the hanuman monkey. Both ends are laced with strips of bullock hide, stretched from end to end, close together; these strips make the whole so much stronger, and they are placed closely enough together to prevent the clay body from being easily touched. The ends are given a small layer of boiled rice spread over the surface in circular form, often, when new, painted black, with a red and a white ring outside. The tumdak is carried over the shoulder in leather thongs, the broad end always to the left side. It is drummed with the hands, the broad end with the left, the narrow end with the right hand. The tumdak is always made in pairs, tuned

When the jackal returned, he and the hare lighted a fire and started cooking rice porridge. When they had prepared this, they urged¹⁵ each other to go and bathe. The jackal was saying: "Please, flower, you go and bathe first, do!" And the hare also was saying: "Please, you go first and have your bath." Ultimately the jackal went first to bathe. Floundering and plunging he had his bath quickly somehow, whereupon he came back. Afterwards he sent the hare off, saying: "Do, flower, be quick, have your bath and come back." The hare then went. He bathed so as to become thoroughly clean, it took a long time.

Here where he was the jackal ate his fill out of the cooking-pot. When he was satisfied, he filled the pot with his own dung, and on the top he covered it with rice. Then the hare came, and they sat down facing each other. Then they commenced to contend¹⁵ who was first to take rice out of the pot. The jackal was saying: "Please, flower, you take first for us;" and the hare also was saying: "Please, flower, you take first for us."

The hare then commenced to ladle¹⁶ out. When ladling out he came to the dung, he saw it, it was dung, whereupon he threw the contents about with the ladle and said: "Was it for the sake of this rice stew that I was crouching so many times along the road?" And he drove the jackal away.

Thereupon the jackal procured a dancing-drum¹⁷, and he was in the habit of drumming every day whilst he was sunning

together; the sound of the broad end is of a deeper tone than that of the narrow end, the difference being about a fourth. It is not unmusical in sound. It is the dancing-drum of the Santals above all other drums; but it is not uncommon to hear the sound of it from a Santal house, somebody enjoying to play it, just to listen to the two notes. That is what the jackal is supposed to do here. The Hindus have some drums of a similar shape, but not exactly of the Santal model; they use it for play. It might be remarked that the Santal drum is brittle and easily smashed; the rainy season impoverishes the clay, so it will never last long.

añjomketa ruru. Khange uni dō band piñḥa piñḥateye calao-
ena, ar tumḍake kōekedea, De se phul, in ru legaetam. Adoe
emadea. Ru bara ru bara uni dōm tawak posak goṭkattae,
are ḍarketa.

Khange adō lagae lagakedea se, uni kulai dō miṭṭaṇ bunum
bhugakreye bōloyena. Adō toyo senkateye ḍurup eṣekedea. Ona
bunum bhugak dō tapapge tahēkana. Uni kulai dō ona bhugak
khone nīr tofena. Bae ḍaṣaledea, ḍar tapketae.

Toyo dō ḍurup akan ḍurup akan ḍeḳe dō tinre cōko nīndirkedea.
Khange dōe beretena, are oyoṇ barayena. Adō baiḥar sene calaoena.
Miṭṭaṇ buḍhi dō hakoe sasap kan tahēkana. Uni ṭhene calaoena,
adōe metae kana, Dini buḍhi, miṭṭaṇ puṭhi hako emanme.

Adōe metae kana, Ma bacha, sapjōnme.

Adōe sapjōn kana. Miṭṭaṇ puṭhi hakoe sapkedea are jōme
kana. Adōe tabok kana miṭ talaoge. Adōe meneta, Ekti paelam,
ekti paelam.

Adō buḍhi dōe menketa, Inige cōm jōme kana, inigeye
tabok kan.

Adō khange ḍeḳeye oyoṇena, adōe ṇelkettae dō, ṣarige. Adō
puṭhi hako sapkate muci ṭhene calaoena. Adō khange uni puṭhi
dōe uduk gode kana, arhōe cupuṭ oko gode kana. Adōe metae
kana, Nōkōe ṭaka. Ma ḍeḳe ḍapkatīnme. Adōe ḍapkatae kana.
Ḍap ṣaṭkettaeae. Uni puṭhi hako dōe capat giḍi goṭkadea, are
ḍarketa.

¹⁸ During the cold season people and animals may be seen every morning after sunrise in some sheltered place warming themselves in the rays of the sun.

¹⁹ In Santali baiḥar, see p. 174, notes 19 & 22.

²⁰ See p. 175, note 24.

²¹ The word used (bacha) really means 'calf', and is very frequently used as a term of endearment in addressing young men and boys; it is especially used by old women.

²² The jackal gives vent to his joy in Bengali.

²³ See p. 176, note 26.

himself¹⁸ below the embankment of a tank. One day the hare heard him drumming; he went along the top of the embankment and asked him to lend him the drum: "Do give it to me, flower, let me try to play your drum." He gave it to him; he drummed and drummed, and then suddenly threw his drum down and smashed it for him, whereupon he ran away.

The jackal then chased the hare, chased and chased; and the hare ran into a hole in a white-ant hill. The jackal came and sat down blocking the way for him. Now this white-ant hill had a hole right through it, and the hare ran out at the other end of that hole. The jackal was not aware of it; the hare ran right away.

The jackal was sitting and sitting, and meanwhile the white ants, who knows when, attacked his hind-quarters. Ultimately he got up and peered down; thereupon he went towards some low-lying land¹⁹. Here an old woman was catching fish. He went up to her and said to her: "Give here, old woman, give me a carp²⁰ fish.

"Please, dear youngster²¹, catch some yourself," she said to him.

He commenced to try to catch. He caught one carp, and was eating this over and over again; it passed through incessantly. And he was saying: "Einen²² habe ich gefangen, einen habe ich gefangen!"

Then the old woman called out: "Why, it is the same one you are eating; this same one is passing through."

Then the jackal, truth to tell, looked at his hind-quarters, and he saw it was really so. So he took the carp and went to the shoemaker²³. Here he showed him the carp a moment, and then again he quickly closed his paw over the fish and hid it. He said to him: "Here, you see, is a rupee. Please cover my hind-quarters for me with skin." The shoemaker covered it for him with skin. He finished his work, whereupon the jackal just threw that carp down there, and ran away.

Khange adɔ buɖhi ʈhene calak kana kaskɔm goɖa goɖate. Adɔ ona kaskɔm darete phɔdɔk. Khange saɖetaea. Adɔ ona peɖɛkateye ru baraea. Ar uni buɖhi ʈhɛn dinamge sim kɔkɔeye calaka. Uni buɖhi dɔ hopontɛtkoe laɪako kana, Din hilokge mitʈan toyo sime kɔeyeɲa.

Adɔ khange sitaʈren buɖhiko benaokedea, ar chaɬkareko doho-kadea. Adɔ toyo dɔ ru ruteye hijuk kana. Heɛen khane adɔe meɲketa, Teheɲ dɔ iɔ buɖhiye landa daramaɲ kana. Adɔ khange ona ruru ɖaɖomtegeye capaɬ golkedea. Khange adɔe loka goɬketa. Ona dɔ baɲ laɬkaoena? Adɔe meɲeta, Nui iɔ buɖhi yae lokakettiɲa. Adɔ nɪr seɲkateye ʈaya goɬkedea. Adɔ ona jaɲga hɔ laɬkaoena.

Adɔ khange hopontɛɬ koɾakoko chaɖaokedea. Chaɖaokede khanko, gitilte bhageteko gadaokedea arko araɬ kadea.

Tayomte mitʈan puɖhi hako sapkate kamar ʈhene calaoena. Adɔe metae kana, Deke balkatiɲme. Adɔe balkatae kana. Deke dɔe oyon akata. Adɔ khangeye ɬuɲɬi goladea goɬa meɬaɦa sente. Adɔ toyo dɔe ɖaɬketa, ar kamar dɔ saɖasikoteye capaɬ barakedea.

²⁴ The Santali word (phɛɬ) is used as in this place about a branch or the like striking when suddenly released from having been turned aside; it is also used about playing with the fingers or a small bit of wood on a stringed instrument.

²⁵ The Santali word chaɬka means the ground just outside the front entrance to the court-yard. In some houses there is a mud-wall with an entrance door between the chaɬka and the raca, the court-yard proper. It is, however, more seen in Hindu houses than with the Santals.

After this he was returning to the old woman through a cotton-field, and the cotton bushes were striking against²⁴ him, and it was sounding. So he broke off a twig and commenced to drum. And he went every day to that old woman to ask her for fowls. The old woman told her sons: "Every day a jackal asks me for fowls."

So they prepared an old woman of wax, and put her down in the street outside the court-yard²⁵. Now the jackal was coming along drumming. When he reached there he said: "To-day this unspeakable old woman is meeting me with a laugh," whereupon he threw that drum-stick at her; then he took the stick in his mouth. Then did not that stick? So he said: "This unspeakable old woman has caught it in her hands." Then he ran up to her and kicked her, and so that leg of his also stuck.

Thereupon the old woman's sons disentangled him. When they had extricated him, they crammed²⁶ him in good style with sand, and so they let him off.

Afterwards he caught a carp and went to the blacksmith, and said to him: "Pierce²⁷ a hole for me in my hind-quarters." He was doing this; the blacksmith was looking at the place, and he suddenly spurted at him over his face. Thereupon the jackal ran away, whilst the blacksmith flung his thongs at him.

²⁶ The word *gadao* is mostly used about filling and stuffing tightly; it is the word used about loading a muzzle-loading gun.

²⁷ See p. 176, note 28.

STORIES ABOUT WOMEN

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

A few remarks on the position of women in the Santal world will make it easier to appreciate some of the points of the stories here collected.

The original and still often theoretically accepted idea about women among the Santals seems to be that she is a kind of irresponsible and untrustworthy being, a necessary and useful, but somewhat inferior member of human society.

Some proverbs show how women are often considered to be morally irresponsible; they are not supposed to be able to resist a man. That this does not correspond with reality, it is unnecessary to point out. At the same time it might be mentioned that, whilst the Indian Penal Code makes adultery a criminal offence, it is only the man who is punished, not the woman. It is not the Santals alone who deem women irresponsible.

Stories are told about the foolishness of women, about their lack of sense and of understanding life and life's demands. They are supposed to be unable to see the consequences of their actions and words. In a quarrel, they will always try to carry the day by resorting to lies and whatever may be thought effective in order to vanquish the other part. They will act on the spur of the moment, heedlessly. And so on.

Further, every woman may be suspected of being a witch, and a witch is, according to their ideas, a demoniacal being, capable of the greatest atrocities and entirely devoid of mercy and human feelings.

These and similar ideas are found among the Santals with regard to women in general. The practical result of such ideas is that the Santal women are to a certain extent disqualified religiously and as regards civic rights.

A Santal woman may have movable property, money, cattle, clothes, &c., but she cannot properly possess real estate, i. e. land (landed property entails certain civic and religious duties upon the owner, which a woman cannot discharge). She has no direct influence on anything concerning the village, nor, legally, on the affairs of her own household. She is only to a certain extent responsible. She is not independent or her own mistress; she is always somebody's "property", first her father's (or her brothers' or nearest male relative's), later on her husband's or his family's, and as a widow she belongs to her sons; if there should not be anyone to represent the right of ownership, she will revert to her first "owners", or practically become a derelict.

It should be remembered that every woman is supposed to be married. Marriage is the goal of every Santal girl, and if a girl is not married, people will think that there is something physically, mentally or otherwise wrong with her. It should not be forgotten, either, that every Santal woman expects to be married. It is unnecessary to point out that such ideas cannot fail to influence the mental attitude, both of the women and also of the men.

If a Santal woman commits an offence against the laws of Santal communal life (we leave out here any consideration of the state of affairs brought about by the Indian Penal Code having been introduced), the matter is brought before the village "Five" and adjudicated, and sentence is passed. It is, however, always the husband or father or brothers, etc., who will have to pay. The punishment is always a fine, when the misdemeanour is not so heinous (according to Santal rules or ideas) that the woman is driven away. Until this happens, the responsible male relative has to pay.

It is not of very frequent occurrence, but it happens, that a man complains to the village "Five" against his wife. The matter is taken up; the wife is found guilty and sentenced to a fine. But the husband has to pay.

This impunity of the Santal women cannot fail to react upon the women themselves; many will, just on account of this freedom from direct punishment, permit themselves to do what they would not likely do in other circumstances; they are perhaps specially liable to let their tongue run without restriction.

The, not very high-classed, remedy that a man will resort to, when nothing else will avail, is the stick. Wife-beaters are not held in great respect by the people. On the other hand, I have heard a story of a termagant, who did not appreciate the qualities of her good and longsuffering husband. One day he could not stand it any longer, but found a stick and gave his wife a thrashing. "Now I can feel that you are a man," was what the woman said. She acknowledged the authority of the man.

Besides being so heavily disqualified as to civic rights, a Santal woman is also in very much the same position as regards religious rights. A woman may salute the Sun, i. e. the Supreme Being, and she may be made to take an oath, or may herself call on the Supreme Being; but she is not permitted to participate in worship. If she feels the need of invoking the *boṅgas*, she has to do it through her male "owners". She is, as is natural, incapacitated from officiating at sacrifices and also from participating in the act; she may partake of the flesh of most sacrificed animals, although never of the head. In the case of certain sacrifices, women are not permitted to eat anything of the sacrificed animals, and, with regard to certain *boṅgas*, the Santals are very particular that not even their names shall be known to women, the reason for this precautionary measure being said to be that if a woman should get to know such a name, she might be able to get into communication with the *boṅga* in question and seduce him to do her will.

Certain "holy" things are polluted by the presence of women.

That certain old women, especially the wife of the village priest, may get a little nearer to the "holies" than ordinary women does not alter the general state. It should be remarked that the women are supposed to prepare some of the ingredients, such as flour, used at sacrifices.

As I have remarked elsewhere, I am inclined to think that the practice of witchcraft by Santal women is, to a certain extent, really secret worship, resorted to by women because they are not permitted to take part with the men directly and personally in ordinary public worship.

In spite of all the disqualifications mentioned above, the position of the Santal woman is much better than with many other primitive races. Human feelings assert themselves, and nature itself makes up for much.

In spite of all the men may talk and possibly also think, they love and respect their women-folk. They are always and at once ready to stand up for sisters, daughters, mothers and wives.

With regard to the last mentioned ones, there are some reservations to be made. Regular marriage is among the Santals not the result of young people falling in love with each other. It is a family arrangement, a union between two families, arranged through a go-between; the two persons most concerned have very little choice, are not, before marriage, permitted to speak to each other, only just to see one another from a safe distance; they may now-a-days refuse to marry the party selected, but will otherwise leave everything to the older ones. A wife is bought (this is the legal base, but the bride-price should perhaps be considered more as a symbol than as an actual payment) and becomes the property of the husband's family. It does not always work well; the young ones are sometimes divorced after all accounts have been squared, and a new union is arranged. When it goes well, it will in any case take some time for the two to learn to know each other; but when they do so, their relations may become very good.

So far as natural abilities are concerned, the Santal woman does not seem to be inferior to the man; in many cases and with regard to certain matters she may give the impression of being better than the man, quicker and more sharpwitted. Otherwise the same differences in quality, found with other peoples between the male and the female, may also be observed among the Santals. The woman is generally livelier than the man and also more industrious. While the men may have long periods off work, the women have always something to do in the house or the family.

The Santal woman is a woman and knows her powers as such and how to use them. She manages the house and keeps it clean (as well as she may know), she prepares the food, &c., and as a matter of fact does everything necessary to make the man free to pursue his special work. She is what in Santali is called *orak'hōr*, i. e., the house-person (a term which may also, however, be used about a husband). She will frequently be found to be the one who rules in the house; frequently it is not so long a step from this to something more, if the woman is endowed with the desire for power and is ambitious. *Mutatis mutandis*, there is, so far as the writer has been able to observe, no great natural difference between the Santal woman and those of more civilized races, although, as could not be otherwise expected, there is a tremendous difference in practical life.

The Santal woman is not kept shut up in a zenana, more or less secluded from the outside world. She is free and may go wherever she likes, provided she has accepted or proper company. It might be said to be symbolic that she, unlike so many oriental women, goes about with an uncovered head and face.

In a good Santal household the state of matters will generally be as follows: the woman acknowledges the superiority of the position of the man. She depends on him; she is subordinate to him, but it depends to a large extent on herself how subordinate or co-ordinate her position will be. Husband and wife will consult each other in most matters. It is frequently the case that the

wife keeps the purse. It will never contain much, but still it will be enough for the man to show his confidence in his wife.

It must not, however, be lost sight of that the civic and religious disqualifications of the Santal women cannot but create a barrier between the two sexes, and it may happen that the female 'society' may be quite untouched, barring a few exceptions, when the men are much excited by some thing or other.

The following, which was told the writer by an English gentleman who played a rôle in it, will go some way to show what qualities may be found with Santal women. It happened during the war; the Englishman in question had been to a Santal village and was taking a number of men along with him to send them to the Front as members of a Labour Corps. They were walking along, the women following to say good-bye. So long as the men were there, there was nothing else than high spirits, nobody saying or doing anything to lower the spirits of those who were going away. Then a halt was called, the men were sent on, and the women had to return to their village. As soon as the men were out of sight and hearing, the scene suddenly altered entirely: all these light-spirited women crowded round the Englishman, commenced to cry, fell at his feet and gave vent to what was in their hearts, imploring him to do everything he could to bring their men back to their homes. He had only admiration for the spirit shown by these uncivilized women.

It should not be omitted that there is a kind of movement on foot among the Santal men to give their women a more secure position. They have long had a way of circumventing the law prohibiting women from inheriting land. In case of a man having only daughters and no sons, he may, with the knowledge and sanction of the village people, get a man to marry his daughter on the understanding that he is to remain in the house and take over the whole when the father is no more. No bride-price is paid, this being settled by the young man working for his wife (just like Jacob of old), and as far as marriage ceremonies are

concerned, everything is reversed. The girl's father acts as otherwise the bridegroom's father would have done. Only, of course, the bridegroom does what only the man can do, puts sindur on the girl's forehead.

The present day Santals have, at several times, given formal expression to a desire of theirs that the position of their women should be bettered, in as much as, on the one side, widows should have a right of sustenance from their late husbands' estate, and, on the other hand, that daughters should have the right of inheritance in preference to remote male relatives.

With reference to the folktales here translated, the points of which are various supposed qualities of women, whilst some of them are undoubtedly true to nature, others have to be marked as 'man-made'. Whilst the foolishness of women may be the subject of some, there are other stories showing quite the opposite. It is quite frequent to hear allusions to the cunning and guiles of women. In a story about the origin of witchcraft among the Santals it is told how the women outwitted not only their husbands, but even Maraṅ Buru, the Santal devil, himself.

16. Dundhi maeji ureaṇ.

Sedae jōkheṇ Hōr hōpon dō, kathae, dundhā dundhigeko tahēkana. Ona reak mitṭaṇ kḥni menaka.

Mitṭaṇ atore, kathae, ato sudhā hōrte kuṭam ḍaṅgrakko neṇḍa-keta; adō oṛak oṛak mimit gotaṇ haṇḍiko dōhōketa. Adō ona neṇḍa din dō mit din baṇ tiok akan tahēkanrege, kathae, hēṛel hōpon dō mit mitte jōtō raj biṭhiko sap idiketkoa, arko metaṭkoa, Ape dō mōṛē māhā din oṇḍege taheṇ hoyoktapea. Adō sipāhi bōṭorte okōe hō ceṭ hō bako rōr dāṛeata. Adōko idiketkōgea.

¹ When the men also are here styled foolish, this likely refers to what is told about their permitting themselves to be carried away without the least show of protest or opposition.

² Kuṭam ḍaṅgra, lit. 'felled bullock', is a sacrifice to the Ancestors. It is performed either as the result of a vow, or in connexion with the so-called jom sim, a large family festival with sacrifices in honour of the jom sim boṅga, originally, it is told in the Traditions, a sacrifice to Siā boṅga, the Sun, representing the Supreme Being. At kuṭam ḍaṅgra three oxen are sacrificed, one to the Ancestors, one to the oṛak boṅga, i. e. the house or family boṅga, and one to Maraṇ Buru, the chief national godling of the Santals. There is one notable difference between sacrifices to the Ancestors and to the boṅgas. A sacrifice of an animal or a fowl to a boṅga is performed by decapitation, whilst to the Ancestors it is done by striking the neck or back of the head of the animal with the head of an axe. This operation gives name to the performance, kuṭam in Santali meaning to strike with a hammer or the like. The kuṭam ḍaṅgra festival is the business of one man, the head of a family, and not, as might be supposed from what is told in this story, something undertaken by the village community as such.

16. THE SILLY WOMEN.

IN the olden times, people tell, the Santals, both men and women, were foolish and witless¹. There is a tale about this.

In a certain village, it is told, the whole village population had fixed a day for feasting with a sacrifice of a bullock to the Ancestors²; in every house they had consequently commenced brewing a pot of rice-beer³. Then just one day before the day appointed, it is told, people came and carried the men, every single one of them, away to do forced labour for the zemindar⁴; they told them: "You will have to remain there for five days." Out of fear for the zemindar's messengers⁵ no one was able to say anything, and they took the men away with them.

Where the whole village, as sometimes happens, belongs to the same family, they will naturally all participate.

³ See end of last note. If all do not belong to the same family, it is irregular that they brew beer in every house for this festival. Haṇḍi is beer brewed from rice or some other cereal. The process of fermenting takes five days; when it is ready, water is poured on, and the stuff drunk. The fermenting is done in earthen-ware pots. Haṇḍi cannot be kept for any length of time. See p. 186, note 3.

⁴ Forced labour is, I believe, at the present day illegal in India. In spite of this, it is even now very commonly practised especially by petty landlords and others who have some kind of power over tenants and subordinates. When people are taken for such service, they will generally get their food and sometimes a little more, the last to screen the illegality of the matter.

Ado khangē onko aimai doko as chuṭauna; mēnketako, Oko baḍae, aboren herel doko aṛakko cōn bañ cōn; paṣe nāhākko mak goḱkotabona.

Ado ona atoren aimaike jarwayenteko ror ṭhikketa, Ma teheñ do hare pharebon teke sobot hōdoka arbon um naṛkaka; ado ayuṛ jokheñ herel hopon leka nēo dhōrom laḡitbon naekeka. Ma teheñ hinda do otregebon gitića, ar gapa do aboge ḡaibon kuṭamkoa hana birre idikate.

Ado sanam horko mēnketa, Acha, ma eṇḍekhanbo onkaea.

Ado sarike teke sobotenteko nēo dhōromketa. Ado aṅayen khan, boṅga reak joto sōromjamko sajaoketa, ar ḡaiko tolkedeā. Ado birre idikate, kathae, miṭṭan sarjom dare buṭa thenko her-heret ṭaṇḍiketa arko gurićketa. Ado khōṇḍ baṛakate caoleko curuć-

⁵ The word here translated 'messenger' is the word commonly used for native soldiers (sipāhi, sepoy, the same orig. Persian word which, with a somewhat different meaning, has come into French via Algeria as spahi). Every native 'king' or landlord and similar persons have, according to their importance and power, more or less of these. They are used for every possible purpose, as messengers, as private guards and to enforce commands. They very frequently do not seem to have any feeling of conscience. Their employer has the responsibility. The incident here reported is very much like what has often taken place.

⁶ When they think it is time to wash their clothes, the Santal women do the washing themselves. The clothes are first boiled with ashes at home, whereupon the woman puts them on the ends of a stick, and balancing this on her head she takes the clothes down to water and washes them there. The washing is done by dumping each piece of cloth on a stone, or by beating it against it. It is finally rinsed in water and spread on the grass or on a rock or anywhere to dry, a very short process in the Indian climate.

⁷ To wash their hair the Santals, both men and women, make use of a kind of alkaline earth that gives some lather.

⁸ Nēo dhōrom, here translated with 'sanctifying oneself', is something deemed necessary previously to the performance of a sacrifice. The male members of a household, especially the sacrificer, have during the night before the sacrifice to be abstinent. They are not to eat or drink, they do not sleep on a bedstead,

The women now lost hope and said: "Who knows whether they will set our men free or not; perhaps they will presently kill them for us."

The women-folk of that village then came together, and talked and decided: "Let us to-day boil and wash our clothes⁶, bathe and wash our hair⁷; then we shall this evening sanctify ourselves⁸, like the men do, and become priests⁹. This coming night we shall sleep on the floor, and to-morrow we shall ourselves take the cows¹⁰ over to that forest and fell them there."

"That is good," they all of them said, "let us then do so."

So they verily boiled and washed their clothes and sanctified themselves, sleeping on the floor. As soon as it became dawn, they made the things necessary for the sacrifice¹¹ ready and tied a cow up. Having taken the cow and everything to the forest, they weeded a small spot clean at the foot of a sal

but on a mat on the floor, and they must not go near to women. With some of the septs it is demanded of the sacrificer that he is not even to sit down on a stool until after he has performed the sacrifice; otherwise the whole will be vitiated. In some cases the wife of the priest has also to sleep on the floor, perhaps because she, in such cases, may have to come a little nearer to the performance than women are otherwise permitted to. Otherwise this *n̄gō dh̄q̄m* does not apply to the women of a household.

⁹ It is entirely against all Santal ideas that a woman should officiate as a priest, i. e., as a sacrificer. As already remarked, they are disqualified from participating in sacrificing. All religious ceremonies have to be performed for them through their nearest male relative.

¹⁰ The sacrificial animal should be an uncastrated male. It happens, however, now-a-days that female fowls, goats and sheep are used, but only when they are so young that sex has not commenced to manifest itself. A cow would be an impossibility for sacrificial purposes.

¹¹ I. e., an implement for beheading (ordinarily the old battle-axe, now-a-days used exclusively for this purpose, here an ordinary axe), some rice, *sindur* (the red lead used for applying religious marks), a little flour (not always) and a little cow-dung.

keta arko sindur barawata. Ado uni gai dakko chitkquadete ona khõṇḍ thenko samankede; adoko meneta, De nabon bakhẽra, de guruktaponpe, okoepe badae khan dõ.

Ado okoe hõ bako badaete sanam hõrko apaj kana. Ado okoe hõ bako reben kana.

Ado uni manjhi erage, kathae, bakkhẽre ehõpketa, Nõkõe kutam daṅgra boṅga, gale kutamam kana; ma aleren herel jemõnko ruar hijuk ma; raj aloe boṅgakotale ma, hec ruar godok mako.

Ado enka rorkatege manjhi erae menketa, De ho, cetkobo bakhẽra? Ma rortaponpe, jotokotebon bakhẽra.

Adoko menketa, Baṅa, besgem bakhẽrkettabona. Ado cet babon bakhẽr? Ma cabayena, adobon kutamea.

Ado kathae, sanam hõrko tẽhẽ mehẽ barae kana. Ado manjhi erae eger gotketkoa, Ma hako pako taṅga sapkate kutamepe.

Adoko menketa, Oka thenle kutamea? Ba cole badae kan.

¹² When a sacrifice is to be performed, they first make a so-called khõṇḍ, a small magic circle. A small spot is cleaned, plastered with cow-dung and sometimes with flour. Here they put a handful of rice, and a small streak of sindur is put there. The animal to be sacrificed is then made to feed on the rice; whilst this goes on, the sacrificial invocation (called bakhẽr) is offered, always a stereotype rigmarole, with now and then some words not understood by the present day Santals.

This khõṇḍ is, when made at the foot of a tree, generally made at the foot of a sal (*Shorea robusta*, Gaertn.) tree, the only exception being that a matkõm (*Bassia latifolia*, Roxb.) tree is used when sacrificing to Gosãe era; when sacrificing kutam daṅgra, as here, no khõṇḍ is made, but the bullock is made to feed on rice from a leaf-plate put before it. There is consequently a double mistake here.

¹³ See preceding note.

¹⁴ This is customary. Just previous to sacrificing, a handful of water is sprinkled on the animal.

¹⁵ See note 12. It should be remarked that the animal is made to face towards the East when feeding on the rice.

tree¹² and plastered it with cowdung. Having prepared the magic circle in this way, they put a handful of rice there and applied sindur¹³. Thereupon they sprinkled water on the cow¹⁴ and made her face the magic circle. "Now, girls," they said, "we shall offer an invocation¹⁵; do lead us, please, whoever of you knows how to do it."

But as no one knew how to do it, they all of them excused themselves and asked the other ones to act. No one was willing.

Then the wife of the headman of the village, it is told, commenced to offer an invocation¹⁶, as follows: "Look here, thou bongā of the felled bullock, we are felling a cow for thee; may our men come back; may the king not sacrifice them for us; may they come quickly back."

Having spoken in this way the wife¹⁷ of the village headman said: "Now then you, what are we to make invocation for? Do say something; we shall all of us make invocation."

"No," they said, "you offered a very good invocation for us. What need for any more invocation? That's finished; let us now fell the cow."

But all of them were hanging back. Then the wife of the village headman commenced to scold them: "Now be quick, please, take the axe and strike her."

"Where are we to strike her?" they asked. "Surely we don't know that."

¹⁶ The women knowing nothing of the regular invocations, against all practice give utterance to what at the moment is uppermost in their hearts. Ordinarily the smallest deviation from the stereotype form of the bakhṛ̥ is supposed to give occasion for revenge from the side of the boṅga invoked. The idea of invoking a boṅga to get help is foreign to the Santals, the underlying idea always being to induce the boṅgas in question to abstain from hurting or harassing. This also holds good with regard to the Ancestors.

¹⁷ The wife of the village headman will naturally be expected to take the lead, if she is at all fit. The maṅjhi era has a reputation for wishing to rule the village.

Ado uniye menketa, Oka then jivi menaktaea, onde do bape kutamea?

Adoko menketa, Okor ente, oka then 'menaktaea?

Adoe metatkoa, Jāhā thenge laraokpe nela, onde bare kutamepe.

Ado khangē sariko beṅget barawae kana, ado caṇḍbolge sari laraok kanko nelefa; adoko menketa, Onḍege jivi do menaktaea, ma kutam hode ma.

Ado sari hoṭokreko tolkedete pe pon horteko sap akadea, ar mittan aimai doe kuktam kana. Ado ona pheḍ caṇḍbol thenak janregeye kutam goṭkedeā bar dhaote. Ado uni gai do, kathae, hasokede khane ado goṭketa. Adoko menketa, Ma na, ma na, māyāmtet atuk kana, ma baṭire atan hodepe. Ado sariko atan-keta, kathae.

Arhoko kutamkede khan, uni gai do hasokede khan bogeteye donketa; adoe paskaoenteye darḱeta. Ado kaskom goḍa talateye darḱeta, ado bogeteko khudaṇukedeā; ado kaskom oṭeḍ do bogeteye kolsa nūr idiketa. Adoko menketa, Nōḱoe na, itil do nonkate bogete joro idiyentaea."

Ado uni gai doe darḱeta, bako laga sap dareadea. Ado ona kaskomge itil menteko jomketa.

Ado cabayena katha do, in maraṅgea. Sedae jugren aimai do, kathae, one onka lilhi se dundhiko tahḱkana.

¹⁸ The Santal idea of what the soul is, is difficult to determine. The soul, jivi, as it is called, is the principle of life or what is the condition of life in all beings that can move. A plant has life, but has not a soul. The body is the 'hut', as it is frequently called, of the soul. When the soul departs, death takes place. They may speculate on where the soul is, but do not, as is natural, come to any result, further than putting questions.

¹⁹ Movement in a body is a sign of life, and so they draw their own conclusions. It might be noted that, while they do not locate the soul, they make use of the expression jivi hōr, soul-way, for parts of the body from which the soul may

"Where the soul¹⁸ is," she answered, "wón't you strike her there?"

"Where is that then?"¹⁹ they said; "in which place has she got her soul?"

"In any place where you see anything moving¹⁹," she replied, "strike her there."

So they looked at the cow, it may be, and in very truth they saw the tail moving; then they said: "There she has got her soul; do be quick and strike her."

Then, to tell the truth, they tied the cow²⁰ by her neck, and three or four of them caught hold of her, whilst one woman was giving her blow after blow with the head of an axe. She twice hit her on the bone close to the tail, and when the cow felt the pain of this, she urinated. "Look girls," they cried, "look girls, the blood is flowing; be quick, receive it in a cup." And so they did, it is told.

As they again hit the cow with the axe-head and she felt the pain of it, she jumped and kicked; then she got loose and ran away. She ran off through a cotton field, and they gave chase all they could. Running along the cow kicked down a good deal of burst cotton pods. "Look here, girls," they said, "all along here her fat has fallen down."

The cow ran away; they were not able to catch hold of her. So they ate that cotton, thinking it was fat.

There the story is ended; it is thus much. In olden times, people tell, the women were silly or witless in this way.

depart, especially where a hurt may cause instantaneous death. The genitals are also included in this.

²⁰ An animal to be sacrificed is led along by a rope or the like to the place of sacrifice; but there it is unchained.

17. Maejiuko reak katha.

Sedae jokhen, kathae, miffen atore` do eken akoge bhaiadi hoponko tahēkana; miŋ oraŋ gan hō etak hōr do banukkoa. Khangē onko bhaiadi doko menketa, E ya, qher din khon babon kutam daŋgra akana; ma nes dōbon kutam daŋgraka, hapram-kobon kutamakoa.

Ado adom hōrko menketa, Onabon kaj khan do, ma eṇḍekhan niā batarre, ar baṅkhan do aḍi dinte calaka.

Khangē sari adoko neṇḍa gotketa, Ma haṇḍiko dōho bara ocoko ma, nin din in dinre dōbon kaj goda. Ado, kathae, oraŋre do onkako lai saḍe baraketa. Ar ako herel hopon do banij be-parko calak kana; ado onko maejiuko doko meneta, Noa kami mape batlao oṭokak kan, ar ape mape calak kan; ado okōe nāhāk noa do cekaea ar okōe ba geṭ kutiale?

¹ This story is a variant of the preceding one. It omits something found in the first tale and has something not found there. Both stories are written by the same man, Sagram Murmu, the first about 1896, the second some twelve years later.

² See p. 228, note 2. Formerly it was fairly common that the inhabitants of a village belonged to the same stock, were descendants from a known, not remote ancestor. Even now there are villages where the majority of the people are related in this way. It might be mentioned in this connexion that the inhabitants of the same village will always, if they are not related, make up an artificial relationship. The reason given for this is that related people do not need to restrain themselves so much in their daily intercourse; they feel an absolute need, they say, of having such an arrangement and to feel themselves as belonging to one family. Another reason is that related people will naturally make use of the terms of relationship when calling to or addressing each other. To use names in addressing is not considered good and is avoided as much as possible. We possibly find something of a similar nature among ourselves, when children are taught to address family friends as uncles or aunts, etc.

³ See p. 228, note 2.

⁴ See p. 229, note 3. Beer brewing is ordinarily the work of women.

⁵ This is the regular way of letting the women know of anything of a public nature. The head of the family tells it so that all may hear. The Santal expression lai saḍe, lit. 'telling make a sound', speaks for itself.

17. THE STORY OF SOME WOMEN¹.

In the old days, people tell, in a certain village there once upon a time only lived people of the same stock, sons of brothers²; there was not even one family of others. One day these brothers and cousins said among themselves: "Look here, you, it is a very long time that we have not felled an ox in honour of our Ancestors³. Let us have the feast now this year; let us make a sacrifice to our Ancestors."

"If we are to have that," some of them said, "let us have it now at this time; otherwise it may be postponed for any length of time."

So they, truth to tell, at once fixed a day: "Well, get them to start brewing beer⁴; on such and such a day we shall have the thing done." Hereupon they mentioned the matter in their respective families⁵. The men were going away to trade⁶, and the women were saying: "Now you are giving instructions concerning this work, and you are going away; then who will presently do this, and who will cut the flesh into pieces for us⁷?"

⁶ It is not common for Santals to trade. No Santal keeps a shop; they may take anything they want to sell to a market-place and dispose of it there, otherwise there is little trading. The writer has heard of Santals who have gone away to sell cattle, or who have bought up clothes and the like at home and have gone away for shorter or longer periods to sell the goods. One man known to the writer was in the habit of going with cloth from his village in the Santal Parganas and up to the Assam districts to sell it to other Santals in tea-gardens. A variant states that the men went off to sell charcoal. In former days, when they were living in the forests, they cut down trees, prepared charcoal and went and sold this to the Hindus.

⁷ The remark is intended to show the women up. Their thoughts are only for the material side of the whole. Incidentally it may be noted that, when Santals prepare flesh of any kind for eating, the whole is, before being cooked, cut into small pieces. They have only their fingers to eat with, so all the pieces must be so small that there will be no need of cutting at the time of eating.

Adoko mēnkeṭa, Ma se ape dō tear hatarpe, niā inā dinre dōle ruar hijukgea, ar niā dinre dōbon kajgea.

Ado onkako neṇḍawatko khanko thirena. Ar ako herel hopon doko calaoengea, ar noko maejiuko dō haṇḍikoko dōhō tearkeṭa. Ado ona neṇḍa din tiokenre hō herel hoponko dō bako seṭerok kan. Ado onko aimaṭ doko mēneṭa, Okor nako hijuk kana, na, noko herel dō? Nōkōe gapa dinge kaj reakko neṇḍa oṭoatbona, adō okorko seṭerlena?

Ado inā barsiṇ dinko ṇel horketkōa; adō bako seṭerlen khanko mēnkeṭa, Noko herel dō, na, oḥoko heṇlena; ma gapa dōbon teke sobodokte ar geṇ gurijokte abogebo pujharoktebo kuṭamkōa.

Adoko mēpen kana, Henda na, oḥoko boṅga ṇutumtebon kuṭamkōa?

Ado uni maraṇ horren oraḥ horko mukhiakēdea, en kathae, De dai, amge mukhiaktabonme; am dō boṅga hōm baḍaea ar oḥoko dārē, ona hō janiṇ am dōm baḍaegea, arem ṇel ceṭ agu akatgea.

Ado uniye mēnkeṭa, Hē, dārēko dōe lai ceṭ oṭoadiṅgea, baṇma, oraḥ oraḥ mimiṭ goṭaṇbon oḍokkōa; ar boṅga dō neko goṇ horkoge tiṇak haṇam buḍhiko goṇ akan, enkokogebon bakhērakōa.

⁸ See p. 230, note 6.

⁹ The smearing with cow-dung makes the place 'clean'; it is especially done before a sacrifice is to be performed. The floor and part of the court-yard is treated in this way.

¹⁰ See p. 231, note 9.

¹¹ Women will know the names of the common, national godlings, or the names used for these in common parlance; but they are not supposed to know any form of worship. In some cases the names of the boṅgas are kept secret with great care, to prevent the women from knowing them. The supposition that any woman should know anything is likely meant to show how utterly foolish they can be.

¹² The wife of the senior brother cannot resist this appeal. She has heard something, and she draws her own conclusions. 'One bullock for every house' is an idea that will appeal to the Santal sense of humour; it would mean a great feed and capacity for such.

"Do, please," they said, "you make everything ready; after so and so many days we shall return, and on that day we shall do the thing."

As they appointed a day for them in this way, the women did not say anything more. So the men went away, and the women commenced brewing beer. But the appointed day came; still the men did not arrive. The women then said among themselves: "How is it, girls, that they do not come, these men? See now, it was for to-morrow that they appointed the day for this matter for us when they went away; how is it that they have not come?"

They then waited for them for two days; still they did not come, so they said: "These men will never come, girls; let us therefore boil and wash our clothes⁸ and clean everything with cow-dung, ready for the sacrifice⁹; then let us ourselves become priests and perform the sacrifice¹⁰."

"Look here, girls," they said to each other, "in the name of which boṅgas¹¹ are we going to sacrifice the animals?"

They thereupon constituted the wife of the eldest brother their leader, saying: "Please, elder sister, you please be our leader; you know the boṅgas also; and what animals are to be sacrificed, that you also likely know; you have seen and learnt from time to time."

"Well, yes," she replied, "the animals to be sacrificed he has told me before he went away, namely, that we are to take out one for every house¹², and the boṅgas, they are these dead people¹³, as many men and women as are dead, to them we are to offer our invocation."

¹³ The dead ones are looked upon as having become boṅgas. It is not only the dead males but also the dead women to whom sacrifices are made. Otherwise those in the other world are thought to live in somewhat the same way as they do here; after death, at certain ceremonies, the first human pair are invoked to take care of the departed one.

Ado sanam horko mēnketa, De dai, eṇḍekhan amge purkhaḱtabonme.

Adoe mēnketa, Acha, ma eṇḍekhan iṅgeṅ purkhaḱtabona; aika kuṭam dō apege kuṭamkotabonpe.

Adoko mēnketa, Acha, ina dō jotokotele kamia.

Ado kathae, onka sanam hōr rōr ṭhikkateko teke sobotena, ar geḱ guriḱente holoṅkoko huṛuṅketa; ado kuṭamko ṭhen gaiko laga idiketkoa. Adoko guriḱ ṭaṇḍikette holoṅteye khōṇḱketa, caolekoe curuḱketa; ado gaiko agu sorkedete dakko chitḱauadea. Ado khōṇḱ ṭhen samankedeteko aṭiṅkedeade arko bakhōrketa.

Ado uni purkha erae mēnketa, De, ado nui gai kuṭameta-bonpe.

Ado jotogeko apaj kana; nui hōe mēneta, De na, amge kuṭamem, ar huni hōe mēneta, De na, amge kuṭamem. Ado onkako apaj kana. Ado miṭ hōre jhūk 'gotenteye mēnketa, Deṅ tho, ṭaṅga emañpe, kukṭamko apaj baṛae kana! Deṅ emañpe.

Ado ṭaṅgae sapketa are metako kana, Ma ape dō sapañpe.

Ado hoṭokre baber akawadeteko sap akadea. Adoe metako kana, Ma laiaṅpe oka ṭhen in kuṭamea

Adoko mēn gotketa, Oka ṭheniṅ kuṭamea? Jivi hōre dō bam kuṭamea?

Ado, kathae, pheḱ caṇḍbolreya kuṭam gotkedeade. Adoe khēṇṭe peṛe goten khan dō, kathae, ḱekereya kuṭam gotkedeade. Ado kathae, andhe paṭhauriye kuṭamedea, ghaṇe ḱekere, ghaṇe caṇḍbolre. Khange uni gai dōe aḱo got keta. Adoko mēn gotketa,

¹⁴ She draws the line here; it is otherwise the work of the sacrificer to kill the animal.

¹⁵ Cf. p. 238, note 9 and the notes to the preceding tale.

¹⁶ It does not seem that they have more than one cow. The plural is in Santali often used for expressing something indefinite, some one or other, about one only.

¹⁷ Note the different pronouns.

¹⁸ See p. 235, note 20.

"Do, elder sister," they all of them said, "you then please be our leader."

"All right,," she replied, "then I shall be our leader; but mind you, the felling¹⁴ — you must do that for us."

"Very well," they said, "so far as that is concerned, we shall, all of us, see to that being done."

Thereupon they all talked together and came to a decision, boiled and washed their clothes, and cleaned the ground with cow-dung and prepared flour¹⁵; when this was done they took a cow¹⁶ to the place where they were going to sacrifice her. There they cleaned a place and plastered it with cow-dung, and she¹⁷ made a magic circle with rice-flour and put a handful of rice there. Thereupon they brought the cow near and sprinkled water on her; then they made her face the magic circle and offered the invocation.

"Now then," the leading wife said, "fell the cow for us."

But all of them were telling somebody else than themselves to do it. This one said: "Do, my girl, you fell her," and that one said: "Do, my girl, you fell her." In this way they were hanging back and trying to make somebody else than themselves do it. At last one of them plucked up courage and said: "Come then, give me the axe; they are all of them backing out of the felling; here, give it to me."

So she caught hold of the axe and was saying to the others: "You please, hold her for me."

Now they had put a rope round the cow's neck¹⁸ and were holding her. She then says to them: "Please tell me, where am I going to strike her."

"Where am I to strike her?" they replied; "are you not to strike her where the soul's way is?"¹⁹

Then, people tell, she gave her a blow at the foot of the tail, and when the cow was jumping and struggling to get free, she hit her a blow on the hind-quarters; and then she hit her wherever she could, over and over again, now on the hind-quarters, now on the tail. The cow then urinated, and they called out:

Də na, də na, baṭiko aḡuipe na, māyāmbon ataṇa, māyām joro giḍik kana.

Ado kathae, baṭikore celankoreko ataṇketa; ado ona māyāmkō ataṇketre hō bae gujuk kan. Khange arhōe kuṭam dohrakadea. Khange arhōe ado goṭket khanko men goṭketa, Ma na, ma na, māyāmtet joro giḍik kana. Khan do ina hōko ataṇketa, ado en hō bae gujuk kan.

Khanko metae kana, Okor nam goe dārae kana?

Ado menketa, In don kuṭam laṅgayena, ado de ape kuṭamletabonpe.

Khange sari onko hōko kuṭam laṅgayena, en hō bae gujuk kan. Khanko arak daporkadea. Khange uni gai doe dārketa, ado bogeteko landaketa, ado māyāk mōyōkko ruar barayena. Ado en hilok khon hot husitko bagi utarketa. Ar boṅga hō bako khusilena, arko menketa, Aimai tite do baṇtetgebon ataṇa. Un khon, kathae, aimai do dāre bako samaṇetkoa.

Ado, kathae, ina dosar tesar herel hopon doko seterena; ado onko aimaike cepetena, mepenena, Okoe hō apnar herel then noa katha do babon laia.

Ado, kathae, apan apin oraṅreko kuliyetkoa, Haṇdiko dope doho akata se baṇa?

Adoko meneta, Doho akatgeale; hege bape hee hodoḱ kan, nel hortele bhagaoena. Nōkōe neṇḍa din hō paromena.

Ado jotogeko menketa, Ma gapa do teke sobotkalepe, arbon um narḱana, mean doḱon boṅgana.

Ado onakoko kamikette dosar hilokko kuṭam daṅgrayena. Ado unreko nelketkoa, baṇma, totkareko kuṭamkoa. Khange onko

¹⁹ See p. 234, note 19. It may here be something else than the moving tail which is in the narrator's mind. A variant states that they took a bullock and tried to kill it by hammering where the 'soul moved', viz. the tail.

²⁰ The Santals have a strong sense of humour and are quite capable of enjoying a joke against themselves, women just as much as men.

"Do, girls, do, girls, bring a cup, girls; let us catch the blood; the blood is running out, and away!"

So they received it in cups and in pots; but even though they did so with this blood, the cow was not dying. She then hit her again. As the cow again urinated, they called out: "Look, girls, look, girls, the blood is flowing out and away!" So they received this also in cups; but still the cow did not die.

They then said to the woman using the axe: "How is it you are not able to kill her?"

"I have been battering so that I am tired," she replied; "so now you have a try, do, and fell her."

Then these also hit and hit, until they became tired; still the cow was not dying. So they let the cow loose in disgust, and she ran off, whilst they had a good laugh²⁰. But thereafter they dolefully went back. From that day the women left this kind off utterly. The *bohgas*, also, were not pleased, and said: "At the hands of women we are utterly unwilling to receive anything." From that time, people tell, women do not offer sacrifices²¹.

Well, two or three days afterwards the men returned home. The women then took counsel together and said to each other: "None of us must tell our men about this matter."

The men asked them in their respective houses: "Have you brewed beer or how?"

The women replied: "We have brewed; but you did not put in an appearance; we lost all patience in waiting. Now see, the day fixed has also passed."

Then they all said: "Please then, boil and wash our clothes to-morrow; then we shall all of us bathe and wash, and the day after to-morrow we shall have the sacrifice."

They consequently did so, and the day after they sacrificed a bullock to the Ancestors. At that time the women saw how they

²¹ It is scarcely necessary to say that this is 'willkürlich eingetragen', to use a common expression in German commentaries.

aimai do muluc muluco landajon kana. Khande herel hopon doko meneta, Cetpe landayet kana? .

Ado un jokhen doko mena, Cet ho bale landayeta. Khande ayup jokhen do handiko nuu kana, un jokhen arhoko landa gotketa. Ado khub lekako kulikekoa; ado unreko laiketa, banma, Ape nel hortele, mokonente alegele kutametko tahékana; ado bhala dekerele kuktam kana, ado cak bhalam gojea? Ado onale landayet kana. Ado kathae, sanam horge bogeteko landaketa.

Ado ene cabayena, endege mucatena.

18. Aimai then alo lai rean.

Sedae paria jokhecrege, kathae, mit hore tahékana; ado cet dorbar cpe calak kan tahékana; ado barge sima senteye calak kana, ado bargere acren kamri kuri do ona takre gurić doe gidi gotkata. Ado ona gurić do pasirente uni horak denggan kicicre latkaena, Ado uni hore nelket khane 'menketa, Durre! noa do ban jut nelok kana, noa do ban idia; hor nāhāko landawaña; okpe tora ruarkate noa don dōhokaka, etagaktegen deŋga calaka."

Ado onka menkateye ruarena, ado etak kicicteye dengayena. Ar one guricen kicic do mittan celanreya bhoraoketa; ado

²² This would presuppose that the women were permitted to be present. This belongs to the story; it is against the common rule. See p. 231, note 9.

²³ When an animal is sacrificed in this way, it is hit at the back of the head, just where neck and head join.

¹⁸¹ The idea underlying this story is that women are incapable of keeping a secret. That is an axiom with a great many Santals.

² Meant is a village council called together to adjudicate some matter. The word used in Santali (dorbar) presupposes something grander than the ordinary village councils; hence the man feels the necessity of changing his soiled clothes.

³ The barge, home-field, is the plot of land on which a Santal builds his houses. The houses generally lie at the end of the field running up to the village street. It is used for Indian corn and cold weather crops. It is the only farm-land which the Santals ordinarily manure.

did it²², that they struck the animal on the neck²³; and they were smiling and tittering among themselves. So the men asked them: "What are you laughing at?"

Just then they were replying: "We are not laughing at anything." But when they were drinking beer in the evening, the women again burst out laughing. So they asked them persistingly, and then they told them: "We got tired of waiting for you, and so we ourselves tried to sacrifice the animal. "Why, we gave blow after blow on the hind-quarters; in such a way, why, how should you kill it? That is what we are laughing at." And then all of them had a good laugh.

Now this is finished, there is the end.

18. NOTHING MUST BE TOLD TO WOMEN¹.

At a certain time long ago, people tell, there lived a man. One day he was going to some meeting or other²; whilst he was walking along towards the boundary of his home-field³, it so happened that a servant girl of his just at that moment threw some cow-dung out on that field. Some of the cow-dung was spattered about and stuck to the loin-cloth of the man. When he saw this, he said: "Fie, fie! this does not look nice; I can't go with this, presently people will laugh at me. Let me go back at once and take this off and leave it and take some other loin-cloth on to go in."

With this intention he returned and changed his loin-cloth. The cloth that had been bespattered with cow-dung he put into a pot⁴, and having covered the mouth with a leaf-plate, he hung

⁴ The Santali *celan*, here translated 'pot', is an earthen-ware vessel of a peculiar shape, round with a very wide mouth. It is never very large, and is used by the Santals especially for cooking their *utu*, i. e., curry, but also for other purposes.

patrateye beṭkette 'ona aḱin haram buḍhikin gitié mohṇḍare coṭreye akakata; adṇ aḱ dṇ dṇbare calaoena.

Adṇ inā dosar tesar hilok khange uṇi hoṛren oraḱ hoṛteṭ dṇe kuliyeḍe kana, Henda, bhala ona celaṇre dṇ cetem aka akata?

Adṇe metaea, Ceṭ hṇ baṇ kana, ar am laiamre hṇ ceṭ baṇ hoyok?

Adṇ kathae, en hilok dṇ bae laiaḍea. Adṇ arhṇ inā dosar tesar hilok khange gitié akan jokhen uni aimaṇ dṇe nṇel ṇamkeṭa; adṇ arhṇe kuliyeḍe kana, Ona dṇ bhala ceṭ bam akakeṭ? Mase laiaṇme.

Adṇ uni hoṛe meṇkeṭa, Baṇ, ohoṇ lailema. Aimaṇ dṇ laiape khan dṇe lai baṛaea, laḱre dṇ bape sea ḍareaka; ohoḱe am dṇṇ lailema.

Adṇe meṇkeṭa, Ohoṇ lai baṛaea, mage laiaṇme. In ṭhenge ente bam lai khan dṇ okṇe ṭhenem laia? Ma laime, in dṇ okṇe ṭhen hṇ ohoṇ lai baṛaea.

Adṇe metadea, Meṇ enḍekhan in laiam kana, aṇka okṇe ṭhen hṇ alom laia.

Adṇe meṇkeṭa, Cedak in laia? Laile khan apnar bhoṛomge baṇ bhaṅgaoa? Apnar apnar reak katha dṇ cedak in laia? Ohoṇ lailema.

Adṇe metadea, Ia, ona celaṇre dṇ —, miṭ hoṛ in mak akadea, adṇ niṣaṇ aloko ṇama mente uni hoṛ reak bohoḱ aḱukate ona celaṇre dṇṇ bhorao akata.

Adṇ uni aimaṇye meṇkeṭa, Saṛigem bhorao akata sem oṛe-yediṇ kana?

Adṇe metadea, Saṛige; meṇ noa katha dṇ jivi calakre hṇ alom laia. Arem laikeṭa meṇkhan, aṇka amgelaṇ goḱmea. Adṇ enka roṛ baṛakategekin thir baṛayena.

⁵ A literal translation of the Santali expression, which is very commonly used, the meaning being that any information received must not be divulged to others; everything must be forgotten. About equivalent to: silent like the grave.

⁶ The woman is not startled at this horrible 'confession'; she seems only to be concerned with the question whether it is true or not.

⁷ A common Santal expression.

the pot high up somewhere near the place where he and his wife were in the habit of sleeping. Thereupon he went to the meeting.

A couple of days afterwards his wife was asking him: "I say, what is it you have hung up in that pot?"

"It is nothing," he said to her; "and even if you were told, what use would it be?"

That day he did not tell her. A couple of days afterwards it so happened, whilst she was lying down, that she caught sight of the pot and plied her husband with questions: "What in the world is it you have hung up there? Do tell me, please."

"No," the man said, "I shall certainly not tell you. If you women-folk are told anything, you tell it to others; you don't let a matter rot in your stomach⁵. I shall certainly never tell you."

"I shall surely not tell it to anybody," the woman replied. "Do, tell me, please! You see, if you don't tell me, then whom should you tell? Do tell, I shall never tell it to anybody."

"Take care then," the man said; "I am telling you; be sure you must not tell anybody."

"Why should I tell?" she replied; "if I told, should I not put myself to shame? Anything concerning ourselves, why should I tell that? Be sure, I shall never tell."

"The matter is this," he said; "in that pot, — I have killed a man, and to prevent them from getting any proof, I have brought the head of the man and put it into that pot."

"Have you really put that into the pot?" the woman asked, "or are you only fooling me⁶?"

"Really and truly," the man replied; "beware, even if your soul should depart⁷, you must not tell. And if you tell, be sure, we two⁸ shall kill you." After they had talked together in this way, they became quiet.

⁸ The inclusive dual (alañ), you and I, is very frequently used for the first person singular in threatening language. It is to be a matter between the speaker and the person addressed, which the speaker will see through to the finish.

Ado tin din badre coñ, kathae, miť din do akin akingekin kaphariauente bogetekin dapalena. Khange uni aimai doe menketa, Adim daleñ kana. Am do horeñ goć akadea, onalañ lai naporkama.

Ado khange sariye laiketa. Ado ondenic manjhi ato hore jarwaketkote uni horko tolkedea ar thanareko ijharketa. Ado thana khon pulis doroga hećkate ona celañ rara agukateko nelket do, kicric kan. Ado ondenic manjhiko ruhetkedea arko dandomkedea, adoko ruar calaoena.

Ado unre uni hore menketa, E yoi, metape kanañ, teheñ khon jahan ontor katha aimai then do tis ho alope lai baraea se alope laiakoa, bankhan do jaha hilok daoko namle khan, ona kathako utlaue cahiye. Ona iate sontorkate aimai tuluc do galmaraope, bankhan miť din kalre do aimai ge aperiñ badiko hoyoka.

Ado un khon noa katha dole cet akatte goťa tandi pasnao akana; ar noa katha do sari kangea; jahan oko katha judi aimai thenem laiketa menkhan, ona do sodorokge cahiye.

Ado ene niť katha do cabayena, in marangea.

⁹ What is here described is a trait of fairly recent origin. It does not necessarily mean that the whole story is of recent date, only that this feature has been painted in recently. If a serious crime has been committed and they think they have founded suspicion against a person, they will act as here told. Note that the headman takes the lead, but acts in conjunction with the village people.

¹⁰ The regulated districts and also the so-called non-regulation districts (the latter not to such an extent as the former ones) have police stations spread over the country, with resident subordinate police officers, who are supposed to be guardians of law within their sphere. Such a police station is called *thana*, a word in common use in the British administration, originally Skr. *sthāna*, and at first, it seems, used about fortified posts with a garrison. Being a convenient word

Then some time afterwards husband and wife one day had a quarrel and walloped each other in grand style. Then the woman said: "You are thrashing me. You have killed a man; we two⁸ shall give information about you and have done with you."

And this she really did; she gave information. The village headman there then called the village people together, and they bound the man⁹, took him to the police station¹⁰ and made a statement. Thereupon police officers came from the thana; they took that pot down and brought it out and had a look inside, — it is clothes. So they gave the headman of that village a good scolding and fined¹¹ him, whereupon they went away.

Then this man spoke: "Look here, you, I tell you, any secret or matter of importance¹² — from to-day never tell such to the women-folk, or so that they can hear; otherwise, some day or other, when they get an opportunity, they must necessarily divulge that matter. Therefore, be careful what you talk with women; otherwise, women will at some time or other in days to come become your accusers."

From that time we have learnt this story, and it has been spread abroad everywhere; and it is a true thing; if you tell any secret to a woman, it is sure to be made public.

There this story is ended; it is this much.

it was adopted by the Portuguese, and has from them been taken over by the present rulers, only, however, about the civil police.

¹¹ Quite a common thing, if one is to believe what is told. The police have naturally no right to such fining.

¹² The Santali word, *ontor katha*, literally means 'inner word'; *ontor* has been adopted from Bengali and means in Santali 'mind', 'heart', 'the inner man', if one likes. It is used in a double sense as here translated.

19. Mahra reak katha.

Sedae jokhen mit̃tañ kisāre tahēkana, ar uniren dō aḍi utaḡ gaiko tahēkantaea. Adō onko gāi gupiko laḡit mit̃tañ mahrako dōhokedea. Adō uni mahrage onko gāi dōe gupi kan tahēkana; adō urni birkoreye gupi kan tahēkana.

Adō kathae, gupi gupite mit̃ din dō mit̃tañ gāi tinre cōñ ona urni birregeye busāk at ocokede, bae disāledea. Adō ayup̃ ber oraḡteye laga aguyetkoa, un jokhene lekha baḡayetko dō, mit̃tañ gāi dō baṇugić. Adō tayom sene beṇgeṡ ruarkeṡ khane helkede dō, gāi eskargeye ñir hijuk kan, mihū dō bae agu daraledē. Khange monereye heḡetata, are menketa, Kisār nāhāk ceṡ cōe metañ.

Adō oraḡteye laga idiketko khan, uni gupiyić dō bae laiyeta, busāk at ocokedeañ mente. Khange uni gāi dō, kathae, bebaḡiće bhokraoeta. Khange kisār dō mahrae kulikedeā, Henda ya, okōe-ṡak gāi bejāeye bhokraoet dō? Cedake bhokraoeta? Mihū dō menaea se bañ?

Adō uni mahrae menketa, Nuiren mihū dō okare cōñ busāk at ocokedeā; bañ disāledea; onate uni gāi dōe bhokraoet kana.

¹ The moral of this story is very much the same as that of the preceding one: it is impossible to trust the discretion of women. This story may have been originally taken over from Hindu narrators.

² Mahra is the name used by the Santals for a Hindu cowherd caste, generally known as goala. The word is of Skr.-Hindi origin, but is in Hindi mostly used about 'a man who appears in the habit of a woman', or 'an effeminate person', also about some palanquin bearers. Although the dictionaries do not mention the use of the word about goalas, Sir H. Risley is undoubtedly correctly informed when he mentions (in his *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*) that mahra is used as 'a title of Chamárs and men employed to herd cattle'. The Santal use of the word is a proof of this, as they have not invented the word. It may be noted that well-to-do people, also Santals, may make use of the mahra to herd cattle, sometimes only to milk their cows. They are also often called in for advice and assistance in the case of cattle disease.

19. THE STORY OF A MAHRA MAN¹.

ONCE upon a time long ago there lived a rich man, who had a great many cows. To herd these cows, he engaged a mahra², a man of the cowherd caste. So this mahra was herding the cows mentioned, and he was grazing them in the primeval³ forest.

Whilst he was occupied herding, people tell, it one day happened that he, some time during the day, lost sight of a cow while she was giving birth to a calf; he was not aware of it and did not remember her. Then, when he, at evening time, was driving the cows home, he was counting them, and lo, one cow is missing. When he looked towards the rear, he caught sight of the cow, she was coming running alone; she was not bringing her calf along. This gave him a fright in his mind, and he said to himself: "What will my master now say to me?"

Therefore, when he had driven the cows home, the cowherd did not tell that he had lost sight of a cow giving birth to a calf. The cow was lowing incessantly; the master, therefore, asked the mahra: "Look here, which cow is it that is lowing so incessantly? Why is she lowing? Has she got her calf with her or not⁴?"

The mahra then answered: "This cow's calf I have allowed to be lost, after she had given birth to it; I was not aware of it; that is why this cow is lowing."

³ The description of the forest would point to the scene of the story being far away from the habitations of the ordinary villagers.

⁴ What is here told of the behaviour of the cow is, excepting one detail, what may be seen every day in the Santal country. The cow is very anxious for the calf, and runs to it when she can. When a cow is being milked, the calf must always stand in front of the cow, which otherwise refuses to give any milk! With such anxiousness in the cow, it seems unlikely that she would leave her calf in the forest. As a matter of fact, they do not.

Khange uni kisār' doe edreyente uni mahra do bogeteye ruhetkede hirkhage. Khange onkae ruhetkede khan, uni mahra do ačak theŋga ar siliye sapketa, ar ona nindage uni mihū hañame calaena. Ado bire bōloyen khange thoe eskarok kana; are meneta, Nit ninda do cekateñ hamea? Nel hō ohōñ nel nam darelea, ar uni mihū do ohoe bhokrao sađelea. Nahakgeñ haronoka, mihū do ohōñ nam darelea.

Ado onka hudis barakateye menketa, Noa ninda do neteregeñ tahē aŋgalenge, gapa don nam barayea. Ado goṭe sahane namketa, ar ona khon seŋgele gharra totketteye jolketa. Adoe jorok akana are bhabnajoñ kana. Arhōe hudisketa, Durre! in eskarge noa bir bhitrire menaña; seŋgel do bañ jola, bañkhan nāhāk jāhānkoko hameña.

Ado onka hudiskate, kathae, ona theŋgate seŋgel doe sobok iŋćekette ač doe menketa, Nonḍe do bañ tahena. Onka menkate ač do dareteye dečena onḍe gitić laḡit; ar theŋga ar sili do onḍe otregeye baḡiata.

Ado kathae, inā miṭ ghaṛi khange kul do manwa basteye heḡ goṭenteye duṛup goṭena, ado uni mahrae jome laḡit. Ado unre theŋga ar silikin galmarajoñ kana; menetakin, De bhala, nit do alaṇren kisārren bairi doe hečena. De unilañ bañcaoea.

Unre theŋga doe menketa, Hē ma hege, menkhan inḡe tho meṭe kārāketiñ; cekate in don laṛhai dareaka? In do asol darege rapuṭentiña. Ma amge bañcaoetalañme.

5 The hair-string (sili) is made of the tail-hairs of a cow generally; it is four to five feet long or even more, and of thickness like a thin cord. It is kept round the neck, but is not of a distinctive nature that might be compared with the brahminical poeta. Fakirs are in the habit of using it. It is supposed to be effective in driving evil spirits away. Very seldom seen with the Santals.

6 The Croton oblongifolius, Roxb., fairly common in the Santal forests. The wood is soft and dry, and is used for the purpose here described.

7 When out in the forests and without other means of lighting a fire the Santals may do so by taking a flat piece of wood like the one here mentioned, and another one like a thin stick, some 30 cm. long. The stick is given a blunt point at one end. Kept between the hands, the point is pressed down on the flat piece,

The owner then became angry and scolded the mahra badly and reviled him in a disgusting way. As he railed him in this manner, the mahra took his stick and his string of hair⁵ and went that very night to search for the calf. But when he came into the forest, he was naturally feeling lonely and said: "How shall I find it now at night? I shall not even be able to catch sight of it, and the calf will certainly not low loudly enough to be heard. I am quite uselessly giving myself trouble; I shall certainly not be able to find the calf."

Having reflected in this way he said: "To-night I shall remain somewhere here until dawn; then I shall search for the calf to-morrow." So he found some croton⁶ firewood, and having drilled fire⁷ out of this he lighted a fire. And there he was sitting and warming himself and thinking sorrowful thoughts. Then again he thought by himself: "Oh dear me, here I am alone in the middle of this forest; I must not light a fire; otherwise somebody or other⁸ will find me presently."

Reflecting in this way, he poked the fire with his stick and extinguished it; then he said to himself: "I shall not stay here." Having said this, he climbed a tree to pass the night there; but his stick and his hair-string he left on the ground.

In a short while, people tell, a tiger came, smelling man, and sat down there; he intended to eat the mahra. At that time the stick and the hair-string were talking together, saying: "See there, now our master's enemy has come. Look, we two must save him."

The stick then said: "Yes, that is quite so; but, you see, he has blinded my eyes⁹; how shall I then be able to fight? As for me, my real strength has been broken. You, please, do save him for us."

whilst the stick is being turned round by the flat hands being moved backwards and forwards against each other. With the proper kind of wood it does not take a man with experience any long time to produce fire. Now-a-days this method is very seldom resorted to; but the wīter has seen it done.

⁸ Meant are wild animals of sorts, and also spirits.

⁹ By using it to put out the fire.

Ado siliye menketa, Acha, endekhan in larhai gelaka.

Ado kathae, unre ona sili do hurla acurok kana, ac kathae, okoe ghiriayet lekage; ar kathae, bhan bhan sade kana. Ar uni kul do, kathae, ona anjomteye bharoyena are meneta, Ayo! hortet ma bae helok kan, ado cet then onka do sade kana, se celeye bheonayedini kana?

Ado kathae, onka sade kante uni kul bae sor dareata. Ado ende durupkategeye angaket khane calao daporena. Ado ona sili ho thirena.

Ado setak khang, kathae, uni gai do bhokraoateye hir calak kana. Khang uni mahra do hako pako dare khone argoyente ona thenga ar siliye sapkette uni gai tayom tayomteye calaoena.

Ado uni gai acren mihui kuliyede kana, metae kanae, Am do, bacha, tehen hinda do adi harkhettem angayena; tinak con janié rabañketmea.

Ado unre uni mihui rof ruaradea, Baña, ayo, in do ban harkhetlena. Noa ponea jangañ lebet akan, noa do pon ghara taka cetanren lebet akana; ar noa taka cetanregeñ burumlente latar khon lologe rakapadiñte ban harkhetlena. Adokin thir barayena.

Ar uni mahra do noako joto kathae anjomketa. Ar uni gaiye calaoen khan, uni mahra doe menketa, Sari se nase kana, bhalañ laea.

¹⁰ In Santali lit: 'the man is not to be seen', i. e. he who produces the sound.

¹¹ The Santali word has reference to happenings like what is here told: fright caused by something not understood and supposed to be supernatural.

¹² Animals are commonly supposed to be able to make themselves understood to each other. How the mahra understands their talk is not explained.

¹³ A very common term of endearment used, perhaps, especially by women to their sons or to young boys. Lit. 'calf'.

¹⁴ The ghara here mentioned is found among the Santals, but only with more well-to-do people. It is very common in Hindu households. It is of brass, round with a narrow neck and a fairly broad brim. It is used especially to fetch water. It has a capacity of several litres. As is well known, it is common with Indians

"All right," the hair-string answered, "then I shall try to fight."

Then, people tell, the hair-string commenced to swing round and round, just as if somebody were whirling it round, and it was making a high buzzing sound. When the tiger heard this, he became astonished and said: "Oh mother! no man¹⁰ is seen; where then is such a sound produced? or is some one trying to frighten me¹¹?"

Now as it was sounding in that way, the tiger was not able to go near, and when he had been sitting there until dawn of day, he went away disappointed. Then the hair-string also stopped whirling.

As soon as it was morning, the cow came running along lowing. The mahra then quickly climbed down from the tree, and, picking up his stick and hair-string, he followed after the cow.

The cow asked her calf¹², saying: "You, my darling¹³, you have spent this whole night until dawn in great misery; who knows how much you have suffered from cold!"

"Not at all, mother," the calf answered, "I did not suffer any hardship. I was standing on these four legs, and with these four I was treading on four brass-pots¹⁴ full of money; and when I lay down on the top of this money, warmth came up from below, and I did not suffer any hardship." Thereupon they ceased talking.

Now the mahra heard all this, and when the cow had gone away, he said: "I wonder, whether this is true or not; well, let me dig."

to hoard their money; they bury it in the ground or where they think it safe, with the result that the whole is lying there unused, and it very frequently happens that the owner dies without having told any one of his hiding-place. So the money is lost, until somebody some day happens to find the treasure. When hiding away in this manner, the money is generally put into some metal vessel, sometimes, if not a large amount, in a *foṭa* otherwise in a *ghara* like here.

Ado kathae, one mihūi burum aṅgalen then uni dōe laket khan, sari ponea ghaṛa reak kankhageye la namketa. Khane menketa, Baṇa, sarige uni mihū dō thikgeye menleta. Ado uni mahrae menketa, Noa taka don idia; ado orakre in bahuṇ biḍaulege, bhala noa takan idile khan dōe lai barakea seye okokea.

Ado onka menkate en hilok dō bae idilette orakre senkate aḍ bahuṇ metae kana, Ia, ma hare phare tehen dō daka hoṭaṇpe. In dō peṛa hoṛok in calak laḡit.

Adoe metadea, Okatem calaka?

Adoe metadea, Raj liṇdhire hoṛoe bolok kana, uni neṇel in calak laḡit.

Khange bahuttet dōe landakettēye menketa, Dak banukanec; cetten dakaea? Hape, enḍekhan dak in lo agulege.

Ado kathae, kanḍae hermet gotkette dak lo aḍi aṭe tarām idiyet kana. Khange atoren maejiuko doko nelkede, aḍi aṭe taramet kan; ado bako kulikede, Henda ho, setakrege tehen dō bejāe aṭ dakpe loyet dō?

Khange uni dōe roṛ gotketa, Hē ho, tehen dō setakregele loyeta, baṇma, kathae, raj liṇdhire hoṛoe bolok kana. Uni neṇele calaktale laḡit. Unile daka hoṭae laḡit, onate setakregele lo idiyeta.

Ado oneko mēnge, Jāhā miṭ lutur khon bar luturena menkhan, katha dō baṇ okona. Uni mahra gimai dōe laiket khan, ona katha dō miṭ gharite goṭa ato ḍamḍahe gotena. Ado kathae, onka lai

¹⁵ The word used in Santali is about equal to rectum. It is not very elevated.

¹⁶ The Indian word raj or raja means a king, but is frequently and commonly used about a landlord or zemindar.

¹⁷ Hindu women very frequently carry their waterpots under the arm; when empty, they are easily carried thus with the arm round the neck of the vessel; when full and heavy, the bottom rests on the hip, the arm being kept round the neck.

¹⁸ Ordinarily they move 'mit Anstand und Würde'; the unusual speed and also the early hour attract attention.

And, so people tell, when he dug where the calf had been lying down until morning, he really came upon the rims of four brass-pots. Then he said: "To be sure, the calf really spoke the truth." Whereupon he said: "I shall take this money away; but at home I must first test my wife, and find out whether she, if I take this money home, will tell of it, or whether she will keep it secret."

Having come to this conclusion, he did not take the money away that day, but went home and said to his wife: "I say, please make haste to-day and give me food quickly. I am on the point of going on a visit."

"Where are you going?" she asked him.

"A tortoise," he replied, "has entered the back¹⁵ of the king¹⁶; I am going to see to that."

His wife laughed and said: "There is no water; what shall I prepare food with? Wait a little then, let me first go and fetch water."

She thereupon took a water-pot under her arm¹⁷ and went along all she could to fetch water. When the village women now saw her, that she was walking along in such a hurry, they-naturally asked her: "Listen you, you are awfully hard at¹⁸ it fetching water this morning?"

"That is so," she replied; "to-day we are fetching water in the early morning; it is this: a tortoise enters the back of the king. Our one¹⁹ is starting to see this. We are in a hurry to prepare food for him; therefore we are fetching water so early in the morning."

Now, as people say, "If anything from one ear becomes that of two ears, it is not to be hidden²⁰." When the mahra woman had told this, the matter was immediately spread over the whole

¹⁹ A very common way of referring to a husband. Husband and wife will not mention each other's names, fearing that in such case their children would become deaf. The best is to be as vague as possible in reference.

²⁰ The same as in Norwegian: 'Hvad tvende vet, vet hele verden'.

laitege raj then hābić bañ setērena? Khange uni raj dō mone monēte ādiye edreyena are mēnketa, Ayo! noa katha dō okōe unānketa auriakte? Inko lajaokidiñ dō. Disom sudhā hōr noako bađaeketa, bañma, raj liñdhire hōrōe bolōk kana. Bañ, noa katha dōñ sabgea.

Khange, kathae, raj dō suktike portōnketa. Okōe noa khatae rōr akata, uni hōr dōbo sabea, ar sapkatebo kuliyea, Tisem hēlkedea, raj liñdhire hōrō bolōk dō? Ma ona laime, tōbēm chuṭika, ar bañkhan dōle goćmea. Cedaḱ am dō un maraṅ hōrem bibhōrōmkedea? Onka raje mēnkette oñtē notē peadakoe kolketkoa.

Khange bhāi, onko dō suṭik suṭikteko calaoena. Adō kathae, miṭṭaṅ peada dōe suṭik hāmkedea uni mahra āimāige, adō uni khon hereltetge. Khange uni mahra hōe aṅgōcketa, Hē, sārigeñ rōr akata mēnte.

Adō peadako mēnketa, Acha, bogegem rōr akata; mēnkhan raje mēn akawaflea, delabonle idimea mēnte. Raj nāhāk boksise emama.

Khange uni mahra dō ādi raskakate oṛakteye bolō gotēnte daka jōmkateye deṅga pherao baṛa gotēnte peadae metadea, Delaṅ raj then idiñme.

Adō kathae, raj thene idi setērkede khan dō, rajko kōbheradea, bañma, Uni hōr dōle āgu akadea.

Khange raje mēnketa, Ma uni hōr dō barahite tōlepe. Khange sārī barahiteko tōlkedea. Adō raje kuliye de kana, Ma laime, tisem hēlkedea raj liñdhite hōrō bolōk dō? De ona sābudme, ar bañkhan am dōle goćmea. Am dō raj lekan hōrem lajaokede dō. De ona sābud purāume, sē cetem mēneta?

²¹ Here the word *peada*, lit. one on foot, a footman, very much of the same importance as *sipāhī*, see p. 230, note 5.

²² The audience is addressed by the narrator. Lit. 'brother', the word is in common use like here with the Santals; but they ordinarily use another word for a real brother.

village. And then, passing in this way from mouth to mouth, did it not ultimately reach the king also? The king now became very angry in his mind and said: "Oh mother! who has started this lying report? They have disgraced me! Every soul in the country have now got to know that a tortoise enters the back of the king. No, this won't do! I shall follow this matter up."

The king thereupon commenced to make enquiries. "Any one who has told this we shall catch, and having caught him we shall ask him: When did you see the tortoise enter the king's back? Please tell that, then you will be let free; otherwise we shall kill you. Why have you dishonoured so big a man?" Having spoken in this way, the king sent his messengers²¹ out in all directions.

Thereupon, my dear fellow²², these went off making enquiries everywhere as they came along. In due course one of the messengers, at the end of his enquiries, came to this mahra woman, and from her he reached the man himself. The mahra also confessed: "It is quite true, I have said so," he said.

The messengers then said: "Very well, you have spoken quite right; but the king has ordered us, so come along, we shall take you there. The king will give you a prize presently."

The mahra thereupon, highly rejoicing, went in and had his food; so he changed his loin-cloth quickly and said to the messenger: "Come along, take me to the king."

Now, when they had brought him to the palace, they sent word in to the king, saying: "We have brought the man."

The king then said: "Bind the man with a rope." And so they did, they tied him with a rope. Thereupon the king asked him: "Please tell, when did you see a tortoise enter the king's back? Do, prove that, otherwise we shall kill you. You have disgraced a man like a king. Do prove it entirely, or what have you to say?"

Ado unre uni mahrae menketa, Ia, raja saheb, horo bolok do ban nel akadea. Menkhan mit then takan nel akata, ado ona iate in bahu don bidauede tahkana, bhala ona takan agule khan doe laikea se oho. Onka hudiskateh menketa, Bhala nonka in bahu don metaea, bhala noa katha do cete metaka, laia seye ban. Judiye lai barae khan, ona taka do ban aguia, ar bae lai khan don aguia. Ado one ente jemon in metadea, temongeye lai gotketa. Khan in menketa, nui do agulere ho oho okolea mente. Ado ona iate taka ho ban aguleta.

Ado raje menketa, Okarem nel akata?

Ado uni mahrae menketa, Tol raranpe, tobe khan in laiapea.

Ado kathae, tolko rarakodea. Ado raje menketa, Ma laime, tinak menaka ar okare.

Ado uni mahrae menketa, Ponea gharare menaka, adon udukapea, tinak in dope emana?

Ado raje menketa, Ona do bara baritebon hatina.

Khange eneye ayur idiketkoteko laketa. Uni bar gharako emadea, ar raj bar gharae idiketa. Eneko ikakadea. Ado uni mahra hōe kisar utarena.

Ado cabayena, in marangea.

Ar noa katha reak bhed do nonka kana: Jāhāe horo tuluc gatek khub gate menamre ho, apnar ontor katha do alom laia, se apnar harām buḍhi then ho asol katha do tisre ho alogem laia. Arem laiketa menkhan, oka hilok con unim edre ocole khan, en hilok do ona kathae sodor goda, ar morē horo amko tol ulṭau gotmea. Ina kangea katha do.

²³ See p. 249, note 12.

²⁴ The advice is here given a much wider application than in the previous story. It is the narrator who gives vent to his own opinions. It may not be the opinion of all; but there is no doubt that distrust of others is a very common trait of the people. It takes a very long time before they will open themselves up to anybody, and they will not do so, unless they have convinced themselves that they can do it with safety and confidence. The story itself does not go so far as the narrator. The story preaches mistrust to women.

Then the mahra answered: "Listen, my Lord king, I have not seen any tortoise entering; but at a certain place I have seen money, and for that reason I was testing my wife, whether, if I brought the money home, she would blab or not. With this intention I said to myself: Well, let me tell my wife so and so; I wonder what she will say to that, whether she will tell it or not. If she tells, I shall not bring the money home; if she does not tell, I shall fetch it. Then see, no sooner had I told her than she told it to others. So I said: Even if I bring it here, she will certainly not keep it secret. Therefore I did not take the money home either."

"Where did you see it?" the king asked.

"Unbind me," the mahra said, "then I shall tell you."

So they released him from his bonds, whereupon the king said: "Please tell how much there is and where it is."

"It is in four brass-pots," the mahra replied; "if I show it to you, how much are you going to give me?"

"We shall divide it equally between us," the king said.

Thereupon the man guided them to the spot, and they dug. To the mahra they gave two brass-pots, and the king took two away with him. Therewith they let the man alone. So the mahra also became a very wealthy man.

So it is finished; it is this much.

And the meaning of this story is this: If you are on friendly terms, even very friendly terms with somebody, don't let your innermost thoughts²³ out, or, never tell the real thing to even your own husband or wife²⁴. If you tell, then if you some time in the future causes him or her to become angry, that day he will make that matter public, and the 'Five' will bind you and turn you over on your back. That's what it is.

20. Mohajon ar khatok.

Sedae jokhen, kathae, mit̃tañ hoṛren 'maejuii tahēkana, ar uni hoṛ dō mohajon reak tināk cōe dharao akat̃ tahēkana. Adō hala rakap̃ hala ārgoetege qher idiyena, adō nawa hōe āgu bōlō idigea; adō sēsre bae hala caba dāreak kante mohajon ādiye ruheda. Adō ona ruhet̃ bōtōrte uni hoṛ dō mohajon ac̃ oṛak sēn calake

¹ The original title of this story, given by the Santal narrator, was Dundhi lilhi āimāiak katha, the story of a silly foolish woman. Possibly two stories have been mixed up together, one about a woman who does not understand and cannot speak Bengali or Hindi, and another about a man who tricked a money-lender. It might be noted that the Santals look upon persons who cannot use any other language than their own as foolish. Living as the Santals do, among other races, speaking languages of their own, entirely different from Santali, it is an absolute necessity with them to be able to understand and speak at least one of these languages, seeing that very often they have to go to these other people for their daily needs. A man who cannot have intercourse with outsiders is handicapped in life and is naturally looked upon as one of inferior parts. As a matter of fact, there are very few grown-up Santals who cannot, to some extent, make use of Bengali or Hindi or some other language used by others who would never think of learning Santali. Their knowledge of the foreign language is naturally very limited and will not, except in a very few cases, go beyond the ordinary language of everyday village life. This story is one which the Santals enjoy very much.

² There are very few Santals who do not need money and therefore do not have transactions with money-lenders. At certain times of the year, they need some little capital to carry them through, and to get this they go to those who lend money out or give foodstuffs on credit. The interest paid is generally 25 per cent, often, however, much more, as, e. g., 37½ per cent per annum, or even 6¼ to 12½ per cent compound interest per month. This money-lending question is one of the big problems of the people, and it is beset with so much difficulty that the older one becomes among the people, the more wary and cautious one becomes. The ordinary Santal has few scruples against running into debt, as long as any one will lend; he thinks of his immediate needs and very little of how he will be able to repay. To his excuse must be said that his economic conditions are so straitened that it is difficult for us to grasp the possibility of such poverty. Further, that the average Santal has not got far in the way of understanding the value of money, especially sums of money. The writer has again and again seen things that have made him say to himself that they have learnt

20. A MONEY-LENDER AND HIS DEBTOR¹.

ONCE upon a time, people tell, there was a woman, the wife of a man who was owing money to a money-lender², who knows how much. In spite of his paying a little now and a little then, the old debt increased, he was also taking fresh loans; at last he was unable to pay it off³, and the money-lender was scolding him much. The man was afraid of this scolding; therefore as

to understand the value of a pice, but not of a rupee. It must also be added that they are not as yet far enough away from their old forest-life to have properly realized the value of property, as the result or fruit of their own work. It might be remarked that Government have enacted several laws to protect the Santals (and other aborigines) from the money-lenders, and from themselves. It is unnecessary to point out that the missionaries have done all they have been able to do to assist and guide in this respect, and some of the enactments of the early seventies were, I believe, the result of investigations started in the first instance at the earnest request of missionaries. Some of the money-lenders are reasonable, but many are quite the opposite, usurers of the very worst type, whose one object is to get the debtor and his possessions into their hands.

Santals are not, somehow, fit to become money-lenders; they are either too credulous or too grabbing and will, in a comparatively short time, run through their means. There may be a few exceptions, but they are not many; besides, as a general rule, they have no capital and must borrow themselves. The money-lenders are mostly Hindus, who at the same time do business as traders and shopkeepers. During later years Mohammedan weavers and others have commenced to get a rather large share in this business.

The common name for a money-lender is mohajon or mahajon, lit. a great man, in these parts, the first form being the common one (by the Santals pronounced with stress on the first and last syllables). The word is in common use over northern India. Another name, not quite so commonly used, is saṁ, probably also of Aryan origin (perhaps the same word as sadhu). I am under the impression that this last name was more commonly used formerly. In the Santali text both words occur. In the translation saṁ is rendered by banker. Both are used about the same man.

¹ What is here told is of everyday occurrence. The original loan is permitted to run up with compound interest to several times its original amount. It may have been actually paid off and more; but as the Santal has no means of controlling this (at least he does not do so, barring a few exceptional cases) the debt remains. Then a little is added, and finally the result becomes like what is here stated.

ñelle khan, uni hōr⁴ dōe oko baraea. Adō uni mohajon dō onka bar pē dhaoe calaoena, adō bae ñam dārae khan, uni bāhuttēte kuli barakedege, okayenae mēnte; adō uni aimai hō bae lai.

Adō arhō onkage mit dhao Pus cando jōkhēne calaoena; adō oraḱreye hōhō barayeta, Okayenam, phalna, menama sē bañ? Adō uni hōr ma setak akan sē, oraḱre ma bae taheñ. Adō uni aimaiḱe arhōe kulikedeā, Phalna dōe okayena?

Adōe metadea, Uni dō aḱlā paḱlā eñēce sēñ akana.

Adō uni dekoe mēnketa, Henda mañjhañ, dinge bañ ñame dō?

Adō uniye mēnketa, Dinamge eñēce calaḱ kana. Tāhā uni dō rabañte sēñgele jolkaka, adō oñdegeye jorokkoka.

⁴ Also a very common device to avoid listening to the upbraidings of the great man, and perhaps also to avoid saying or doing things one might repent of later on.

Of daily occurrence. The money-lender will come himself or send his servants, when he has reached the psychological moment. Up to this time, everything is fair and friendly; from now on commences the pulling of the net. Not finding the man, he speaks to the wife.

⁶ Pus, a name received from Bengali or Hindi, is a month corresponding to the last half of December and the first half of January. The heavy paddy is harvested at this time, and it is the time when everybody has a little foodstuff, on the threshing-floor or in the house. It is therefore also the time when the money-lenders or people who have given others anything on credit try to be repaid. In the latter half of Pus the Santals have their *sōhrae*, a kind of harvest festival, generally a debauchery of a very low kind. Up to this time the Santals eat as much as they like of their new harvest of rice. One of the last days of the *sōhrae*, a man walks through the village street beating a branch with dry leaves, to drive the *dardāha*, the 'glutton' away, a symbolic action to tell people that from now on they have to eat measuring the quantity of rice. The money-lenders or their servants come to the threshing-floors and make them 'measure out to them' the largest possible amount of paddy, in repayment of advances and debts.

⁷ The Hindu is standing in the court-yard; it would be against propriety for the man to knock; so he calls out.

⁸ The Santali text implies that the Hindu calls out the name; this is against the rules of good behaviour, the name being used only in addressing persons much

soon as he saw the money-lender coming towards his house, he would hide himself⁴. The money-lender in this way came two or three times, and as he did not find the man at home, he asked his wife where he had gone; but the woman did not tell either⁵.

Then it happened once in the month of Pus⁶ that he again went there on the same errand, and he was calling out⁷ there in the house: "Where are you, so and so⁸? Are you here or not?" Now the man, as soon as it was morning, did not stay at home⁹. So the money-lender again asked the woman: "What has become of so and so?"

"He has gone," she replied, "to play Back and Forward¹⁰."

"Look here, madam¹¹," the Hindu¹² said, "how is it I never find him?"

"Every day," she replied, "he goes to play." What really was happening was that he, because it was cold, lighted a fire and was warming himself¹³ there.

younger than or inferior to oneself. The name may be used, provided an honorific title is added; but so is not done here.

⁹ See above note 4. To avoid the unpleasant meeting, if they cannot hide, they may go away somewhere, generally on some pretext or other.

¹⁰ *Aḡḷa paḷaḷa*, lit. 'foremost backwards' (both words are of Hindi extraction), on account of this and similar stories being told among the Santals, is sometimes heard as a jocular name for moving backwards and forwards. They have no play so called.

¹¹ *Mañjhi* is a title used by 'foreigners' addressing a Santal; *mañjhaṇ* is the same, to a Santal woman.

¹² The word of the Santali text, *deko*, is a name used to signify a person of another race than the Santals, i. e., Hindus and Mohammedans. Other aboriginals and the so-called semi-hinduized races (Paharias, Bhuiyas and Doms) are not called so, and Mohammedans are now mostly styled either *musḷa* or *jolha*, the latter being a Mohammedan weaver-'caste', to which very many of the Mohammedans living in these parts belong.

¹³ It is a very common sight in the early mornings of the cold season to see people sitting, alone or together, over or near to a fire to warm themselves. They do not, like us, attempt to keep themselves warm by exercise.

Ado uni deko dō malhan jo akane hēlkeṭṭako, jhaṭare beḅarié jo akana. Ado uni dekoa menketa, O mañjhan, morod to nai, sim amake dē.

Ado uni aimaie meneta, Ki bolchi, herel? Amra nai bujchi.

Ado uni dekoa menketa, Sim, mañjhan, sim dē.

Ado uni aimaie menketa, Oh! sim simok kanae! Am lagit baṇḍole sim akatko? Bareakgetaleakin, unkin hō enḡa mentele doḡo akatkina, are sim simok kana! Cele sim bhalale emama? Bale emam lagit.

Janié ado deko hō bae bujhaṇeta uni aimaiaḡ ror dō, ar uni aimaia hō dekoaḡ ror dō bae bujhaṇeta.

Khange uni deko dō malhan jhaṭareye deḡok kana; ado uni aimaie menketa, Ayo go! nui deko ya simteñ bhagaokede khan dō ya jhaṭarem deḡok kan. Khub leka kaṛaie ma tho!

¹⁴ The bean here mentioned, malhan (*Dolichos Lablab*, L.), is a runner bean with large broad pods, very commonly found planted in the court-yards or near the houses of the Santals. The pods and beans are much relished as curry.

¹⁵ To support climbers of the kind here mentioned, the Santals simply take one or more bushes or small trees and fix in the ground. The climbers run all over the branches.

¹⁶ When in the following German has been used, it is to translate sentences given in what is meant to be a kind of rustic Bengali. The Santal woman does not understand Bengali; she has picked up a few words, but is in ignorance as to their proper use and speaks in a way delightful to the Santals. That happenings like what is here told are quite possible, the writer is able to testify. Some years ago it happened that a 'deko' came through the village street just outside our compound. There he saw a small goat and offered a Santal woman he saw twelve annas for it (it happened so long ago that a price like this would not be out of the ordinary at that time). The word he used was baro; the woman did not know that this meant twelve, but likely thinking that it had something to do with the Santal bar (also barea), which means two, she replied that he might have it for gel, ten, annas. Another time a Santal couple came to a market-place, wishing to sell a goat. A 'deko' offered pāc sika, five four-annas (Re. 1—4—0); hearing this the woman at once protested and said that if the man would give miṭ ṭaka, one rupee, he should have the goat. Her husband tried to persuade her that five 4-anna pieces were more than one rupee; but she would not have anything of this 'deko' nonsense; would he give one rupee, well and good, otherwise others might get

The Hindu now saw that their malhan beans¹⁴ were bearing fruit; there was an immense amount of fruit on the bean supports¹⁵. So he said: "Frau, der Mann ist nicht hier; gieb mir einige Bohnen¹⁶."

"Was sage er¹⁷, you man¹⁸? Wir verstehen es nicht," the woman replied.

"Bohnen, Frau," the Hindu said, "gieb einige Bohnen."

"Oh," the woman said, "he is 'hen-hen'ning¹⁹. Is it for you, do you think, that we are keeping hens? Two are all we have, and those two we have kept to have them for laying eggs, and he is 'hen-hen'ning! What kind of hen, I wonder, are we going to give you?"

Now, likely, the Hindu did not understand what the woman was saying, nor was the woman understanding the Hindu's language.

The Hindu thereupon tried to climb the supporting poles; but the woman called out: "O ma, O mother²⁰! this Hindu fellow — I worsted him so far as the hens were concerned; then you are now, you fellow, climbing the bean poles. He should have a sound buffeting²¹, that fellow!"

the goat. The man felt so ashamed that he gave in to his wife. At the present time most women have learnt enough not to commit such blunders. Still, of course, as they have to depend on what they can pick up whilst they are not supposed to have any conversation with 'deko' men, it is only natural that they are not very proficient.

¹⁷ The woman uses a wrong form of the verb, but tries to speak Bengali.

¹⁸ Here she does not know what word to use and says *herel*, a Santali word meaning 'male' or 'man' (corresponding to Norwegian 'mandfolk'), never used in addressing in Santali.

¹⁹ The Hindu says *sim*, which is his name for this particular bean (in Santali *malhan*); now in Santali *sim* means the domestic cock or hen, and the woman thinks the 'deko' wants to take these and scolds accordingly.

²⁰ *Ayo go*, a very common interjection or exclamation used to express wonder or astonishment or pain, lit. means 'mother, mother', both words being in use in Santali.

²¹ The Santali word *kaṛai* means to beat with a club or heavy stick. To get alliteration to show the misunderstanding of the 'deko' 'buffet' is used in the translation. Hearing *kaṛai* the Hindu is reminded of *kaṛa* (in Santali *kaṛa*), which means a buffalo, and follows the idea up.

Ado uni dekoa m̄n goṭketa, Hā mañjhaṇ, kaṛa dibi to kise abad kurbe?

Ado arhō uni aimaie m̄nketā, Ayo go! nui deko dō bae ba-taoet dō. De se na, tok hawañpe, nāhāk khub in kaṛaiyea.

Ado arhō uni dekoa m̄nketā, Kaṛa dibi to, mañjhaṇ, bhalo hobe, sob khalas hūyā jabek.

Ado, kathae, uni aimaie dōe chuṭaulen, tok sapkate dale lagite epel idi goṭketa. Khange ado uni deko mohajon dō botorteye dāṛ tapketa, ado aḍiye edre calaoena.

Ado dosar hilok khange sim rakreye heḇente oṛakreye sen esetkedeā. Ado namkede khane metae kana, Henda phalna, je dharaoak dō cedak bam emkaṭiñ kana? Adom emañā se bañ? Ma ona rōrme. Dinge in dō am then in hijuk kana, oṛakrege bañ heḇ nametmea. Ado am bañuñ kuliye khan dōe mēna, bañma, Aḡla paḷa eñeḇe sen akante oṛakre dō bam heḇ name kana. Ar hola dō malhan in goṭet tahēkanre tokanteye lagakidiña. Ado cet lekam eñeḇ kante am dō din hilok oñdegem calak kana?

Ado uni hore m̄nketā, Cet bañ se, sau, aḍi mōñj eñeḇ kana, onate in dō dingeñ calak kana?

Ado uni dekoa m̄nketā, Henda mañjhi, in don cet darekea se oñḇ?

Ado uni hore m̄nketā, Deko hopon ma arhō aḍi algateko cetkea.

Ado uni dekoa m̄nketā, Iḷ mañjhi, eñdekhan in hō cetame.

Ado uni hore m̄nketā, Hē entem ced khan don cetama; aḷka okoe then hō alom lai baraea.

Ado m̄nketā, Acha, okoe then hō bañ laia.

Ado metadea, Acha bogege, eñdekhan ma gapa nonka aḍire hijukme; teheñ dō nondege marsalena, onate oho jutlena. Ona cecet dō aḍire calak hoyoka. Ma gapa nonka aḍire hijukme, adon cetama.

²² The tok is an implement found in every Santal household. It is a heavy wooden pestle, some four to five feet long, with an iron ring in the one (thinner) end, primarily intended for use in husking rice or other cereals in the ukhuṛ, the wooden mortar.

"Ja, Frau," the Hindu said, "wenn man aber die Büffel giebt, womit wird man dann arbeiten können?"

The woman then again spoke: "Oh ma, Oh mother! this Hindu will not give in. Here, my girls, bring me the pestle²²; I shall buffet him and give him a good beating."

The Hindu then again said: "Falls Sie die Büffel geben, Frau, wird es gut sein; alles wird getilgt werden."

Then the woman made a start; she took the pestle, raised it high in the air and went towards the man to strike him. The money-lender then was frightened and ran straight off; he was very angry, as he went.

The following morning he came at cock-crow, before the man could get away. When he met him, he said to him: "Look here, you so and so, why don't you pay me what you are owing? Are you going to pay me or not? Please tell that. Day after day I am coming here to you; I don't find you at home. And when I ask your wife, she says: He has gone to play Back and Forward; therefore you do not find him at home. And yesterday, whilst I was plucking a few beans, she came with the pestle and chased me away. Now what kind of play is it you are occupied with, since you are going there day after day?"

"You have no idea, banker," the Santal replied, "what a beautiful play it is; that is the reason that I go day after day."

"Look here, governor," the Hindu said, "would it be possible for me to learn or not?"

"Of course," the Santal replied, "Hindus would learn it much more easily even."

"I say, governor," the Hindu said, "then teach me also."

"Well yes," the Santal replied, "if you will learn, I shall teach you; but mind you, don't tell anybody."

"All right," he said, "I shall not tell anybody."

The man then said: "Very well; come then to-morrow, early like this; to-day it has become full day already, so it will not be possible to-day. To learn, it is necessary, to be out early. Please, come to-morrow early like you did to-day, then I shall teach you."

Adge menketa, Aṭha, eṇḍekhan gapa dō aḍireñ hijuka.

Ado uni hore menketa, Hē, ma hijukme, aḱa okoe then hō alom laia, ar baṅkhan dō oḥom ceṭ daṛelea.

Adge menketa, Acha, oḥoñ laia. Ado onka men baṛakatekin apan apinena.

Ado khangē sari uni deko dō dosar hilok aḍireye heḱ goṭena, adge hohō goṭketa, Cele ho, oraḱre menama se bañ?

Adge goṅkedeā, menaṅgea mente; ado enka ror sāotegeye oḍokena. Adge menketa, Raca sen in senlenge. Ado kulhi sen oḍok senkate miṭ hore hohō aḱukedeā. Ado uni dekoe metae kana, Aḱla paḱla eṇeḱ in ceṭam khan dō nāhāk cetem eṇoka?

Ado uni dekoe menketa, Takam nam khan, takage, ar jomakem nam khan dō, jomak in emama.

Ado uni hore menketa, In dō takā hō bañ ar jomak hō bañ; in dō tinak korja menaktiñ, inage khalaskañme, eṇḍekhan in ceṭama, ar baṅkhan dō oḥoñ cetlema.

Ado uni mohajon hōe menketa, Acha, eṇḍekhan in khalasmea, aḱa ceṭ utaṛañme.

Ado uni hore menketa, Acha, bhēd bhōñ sanam in lai utaṛama. Ma eṇḍekhan korja nutumte careḱ hulejme, ar delabon nitgeñ ceṭ utaṛ goṭama; ar bañ ceṭatmea menkhan, nui hōṛ sakhī menaea.

Khangē sari ado bujḥau baṛakate uni deko dō uni goha hōṛ samañrege careḱ huleḱketa ona rin pan nutumte, are menketa, Nēkē in chutiḱetmea. Ado delabon ceṭañme.

²³ In Santali lit. 'I must first go towards the court-yard', the last words being constantly used as a veiled expression for passing water.

²⁴ The Santals like to make use of symbolic acts to testify to the reality of actions. In connexion with the sale of moveable property, e. g. of a bullock, they may finish the transaction by giving a bit of *dhubi ghās* (*Cynodon dactylon*, Pers.). The seller takes a piece of cloth over his head, takes a little of the grass mentioned and rubs it between his flat hands and gives it to the buyer with both hands. The buyer gives a little back. When no *dhubi ghās*

"All right", the other replied, "then I shall come early tomorrow."

"Yes, please, come," the man said; "but remember, don't tell anybody; otherwise you will not be able to learn."

"All right," the other replied, "I shall certainly not tell." After having had this talk they separated.

Then really and truly the following morning very early the Hindu put in an appearance and called out: "Hallo, so and so, are you at home or not?"

The man answered him, saying that he was there, and as he said this, he came out. "Let me first go a little aside²³," the man said. He thereupon went out into the village street and called another man; then he said to the Hindu: "If I teach you the Back and Forward play, how much will you give then?"

"If you want money, I shall give money," the Hindu answered; "and if you want foodstuffs, I shall give you that."

"Neither money nor foodstuffs do I want," the Santal said; "whatever debt I have with you, let me off that; then I shall teach you; otherwise I am not going to do so."

"All right," the money-lender said, "then I shall let you off; but mind, teach me all there is."

"All right," the Santal replied; "I shall tell you all there is about it, meaning and signification. Please then break the straw²⁴ to show you have let me off my debt, and come along and I shall now at once teach you all and everything; and if I don't teach you, here is this man as a witness."

After having thought the matter over, the Hindu thereupon really broke the straw in the presence of the witness, to wipe off all debts and obligations, and said: "There you are, I have let you off. Now please teach me."

is available, they may each take a bit of straw, break it into two, whereupon they give one another one bit and keep one bit for themselves. This is what is done in the story.

'Ado sari uni hōr dō orakteye bōloyente t̄hut̄kuf sēṅṅele oḍok-keta, ar uni deko ar goha hōr banargeye riāu idiket̄kina. Ado bir senre senkate janhe kharai t̄henko²⁵ d̄urupena. Ado uni hōre mēnketa, Ma nōṇḍege kicriē dō sanam hōrbo dōhōea; ar nui goha hōr dōe dōhōere hō bañre hō, mēnkhan alaṇ dō bana hōr laṇ dōhole aṇēc jutoka.

Ado sari bana hōrkin dōhōketa, ar uni goha hōr dō ona kicriē t̄hengekin d̄urup̄ ocokedeā, ar ākin dō ona janhe busup̄ sorrekin calaoena. Ar ɛn hilok dō rabaṇ hō āḍi āt̄ rabaṇ kan tahēkana. Ado uni hōr dō janhe busup̄te sēṅṅele jolketa, adōe metae kana; Iā sau, ma thoralaṇ jorok nōklenge, adō nāhāk in̄ cetama.

Ado sari bana hōrkin jorok akana; adō dher nōke t̄hekaole khan dō āḍi t̄apis ḍau ḍau jol ḡḡḡok kantekin p̄ac ḡḡḡok kana; arhō h̄arsur̄ idik̄ khankin sor idik̄ kana. Ado uni dekoe mēnketa, Ma cet̄ hōtañme, in̄āḡḡelaṇ joroka.

Ado uni hōre mēnketa, Nōkōe cōlaṇ ɛṇēc kange, bam bujhaueta? Nēlme, laha sēn hōlaṇ calak̄ kana, tayom sēn hōlaṇ p̄acok̄ kana. Niā kangea aḡlā p̄aḷā ɛṇēc dō. Ma adō kurumuṭute cet̄ dōhōkam.

Ado khangē uni deko dō āḍi b̄ariēc̄ kastaoena; adōe mēnketa, Baṇ, noa ɛṇēc babotte nunaḡ rin dō ḡhōṇ cabaletama. Am dō āḍim̄ ɛrēkidiṇa.

Ado uni goha hōre metadea, Ma ho, katha aṇjom̄ t̄hikkataliñme. Nui deko enaṇ cete mēnleta, ar nitok̄ cete mēneta? Ma aṇjomkam.

Adōe mēnketa, Hē, aṇjomkētabenaṇ. Khangē adōko apan apinena.

²⁵ Janhe (*Paspalum scrobiculatum*, L.) is very commonly cultivated on outlying high lands. It is freely eaten by the Santals, is reported to give a rather intoxicating beer, but is not considered sufficiently valuable to be seized by the money-lenders. The straw is valueless as fodder, but is used during the cold season as here described. It is suitable for stuffing mattresses, and is much used by potters as fuel in their kilns.

²⁶ For threshing jungle corn of sorts, they will plaster a small bit of ground anywhere near the field, not, however, in such a solid and careful way as when making their ordinary threshing-floors.

The Santal then, truth to tell, entered his house and brought out a small piece of burning firewood, whereupon he invited both the Hindu and the witness to come along. Having gone towards the forest, they sat down on a jungle-corn²⁵ threshing-floor²⁶. The Santal now said: "Let all of us put our clothes down here; it does not matter whether the witness will take off his clothes or not; but we two must take them off; then only it will do."

Thereupon both of them took off their clothes, and he made the witness sit down at the clothes, whilst the two went close to the jungle-corn straw. Now it also was very cold that day. The Santal then set fire to the straw and said to the other: "I say, banker, let us warm ourselves a little first; then I shall teach you presently."

Both of them were warming themselves at the fire, and as the man put quite a lot of straw into the fire, it suddenly blazed up into great flames, and they had to be quick and draw back. Again, when it burned low, they drew near to the fire. The Hindu then said: "Please, be quick and teach me; let this be enough warming ourselves."

"Look, here we are playing, don't you understand?" the Santal replied; "see, we are moving forwards, and we are also drawing back. This is the Back and Forward play. Please be diligent and learn so that you know it."

The Hindu then felt exceedingly regretful and said: "No, on account of this play I am certainly not going to wipe off so much debt of yours. You have played a trick on me."

The Santal then said to the witness: "Please, sir, hear and mark exactly what we two are saying. This Hindu — what did he say a while ago, and what is he saying now? Please hear and mark what he says."

"Yes," he said, "I have heard what you have said." Thereupon they went, each their way.

Khange adɔ uni deko dɔe lɔlisketa ona rin babotte. Adɔ din tioken khan, uni goha hɔe idi torakedea. Khange adɔ hɔkim then uni hɔr hɔ ɔneko galmaraolet lekae soalketa. Ar uni goha hɔ onkageye rɔrket khan, mambla dɔ dhismisentakoa, ar uni dekoge ɔdi bariɔko ruhekedeae.

Adɔ cabayena katha dɔ, onkate uni hɔr dɔe paskaoena.

21. Mit̃tañ k̃aki eñgat reañ.

Mit̃tañ hɔr, kathaeye bahuan tahēkana; adɔ uni eratae dɔ khub khaɔoya erae tahēkana, adɔ onate khubkin arjao goŋketa. Ar gidra dɔ mit̃tañ koɔa gidraye tahēkan takina. Adɔ bana hɔr onka rɔd bɔdɔlkin k̃amia; j̃ahān k̃ami unkin dɔ h̃alaregekin k̃ami caba goɔa. Adɔ ona hiskate bañ dɔ cette taɔakge uni bahutae dɔe goɔentaea. Pɔ pon m̃ahāge b̃ohok haso ñokledea; iñategeye goɔentaea.

Khange uni hɔr dɔ ɔdi bhabnae h̃amketa; adɔ ɛn serma dɔ enkategeye tahēyena. Adɔ eskar iate k̃ami bañ calak kante, dosar serma dɔ chuŋkiye h̃awana. Adɔ taheñ tahente cetko daete coñ ɔdikin jhograkgea; adɔ enka regeñ tegeñtegeko tahēyena; oka dɔe tsat godokgea.

²⁷ The conclusion is, perhaps, not impossible according to Santal, or even Indian, ideas.

²¹ Stepmothers have no good reputation among the Santals.

² The Santal word would show that whatever they may have earned is the result of industrious agricultural work.

³ According to Santal ideas death is not natural; especially when young people die, they are always ready to believe that death in such cases is due to the malevolence of evil spirits and of witches. One of the causes inducing those beings to attack people, is envy. It is, it is thought, too much for them to see the happiness of people.

⁴ A very common description of how a person may come to die. It is the symptom observed, and deemed insufficient to cause death.

⁵ It would be quite out of the common for a Santal widower, still in his best years, to remain single. It would not, generally, be understood. A Santal man,

The Hindu thereupon brought a suit on account of this debt. When the day fixed came, he also took along with him the witness. Before the judge the Santal pleaded in accordance with what they had talked together; and when the witness also deposed the same, the case was dismissed, and they gave the Hindu a good rating²⁷.

So the story is ended; in this way this man slipped through.

21. A STEPMOTHER¹.

THERE once lived, people tell, a man who had taken to himself a wife; and this wife of his was a very industrious person, so they quickly earned some competence². As for children, they had one son. Both of them were equally industrious; whatever work they applied themselves to, they got through with it in an incredibly short time. Then, whether it was from envy³, or whatever the cause was, this wife of his suddenly died. She suffered a little, three or four days, from head-ache⁴; from this she died.

It was a great grief to this man, and that year he remained as he was. Then, as his work did not go well, because he was alone, he married again⁵ the year following. As time passed, for some cause or other they were always having a good deal of quarrelling, and they lived in this way squabbling; sometimes the woman had sulky fits.

needs a wife. When his wife has died, the widower will generally wait until the crops of one season have been harvested. Then friends will commence to offer to arrange a marriage with a widow (so generally; it seldom happens that a spinster will agree to marry a widower), and a marriage takes place, with, however, much less ceremony than what is used when previously unmarried persons are joined together, one reason for this being that a second marriage is only for this world. Bachelor and spinster, once properly married, will be husband and wife also in the next world, whether they have been separated by death or divorce or not, whether they have remarried or not. To remarry too quickly is

Ado mit din dōe kulikedeā uni bāhutaē dō, Cet iate am dō siñ saṭupge mit raṅgaogen āikaumea?

Ado unre uniye mēnketa, 'In dō cet iate cōn nui gidra dō aḍi sikir in ṅele kana.

Ado unre uni hōre mēnketa, Cekate sikir dōm ṅele kana? Nui ma aḍ dāretegeye aṣulok kan. Cet hō tho bae sakeaṛetmea, adō cekatem aṛisae kana?

Ado uniye mēnketa, Cekate cōn! Nui dō edregen ṅele kana; nui gidra nōṇḍeye taḥen khan, eṇḍekhan in dō bañ taḥena.

Ado uni hōre mēnketa, Eṇḍekhan nui gidra dō lañ ceka lekayea?

Ado uniye mēnketa, Ma nui gidra dō gojeme, ar bañkhan jāhātege idi giḍikaeme.

Ado uni hōre mēnketa, Okateñ idikaea? Janamkedeañ; adō unire hō cōn māyā menaktiñ, ar gogoḍem metañ kana. Cet lekate nui dōñ gojea?

Ado uni aīmaiye mēnketa, Nui gidra goje reak dō algagea; inren gidra khan dōñ goḍ goṭkea.

Ado uni hōre mēnketa, Ma eṇḍekhan amge gojeme.

Ado uni aīmaiye mēnketa, In dō qhōñ goḍlea amren dō. Inrene taḥen khan dōñ goḍ goṭkea. Amren kanae, ma amtege gojeme.

Ado uni hōre mēnketa, Cet lekateñ gojca? Magete ma inḡe aḍi bōtor in āikaueṭ.

Ado uni aīmaiye mēnketa, Acha, uni goje reak bhēd dōñ laīam kana. Siok jōkhen uni dō lahakaeme, ar am dō tayomre siokme, ar am siok isi dō khub sagak leka lak coelokakme, ar siok

not thought quite proper; but a man must have somebody to cook his food and to do a woman's part of the agricultural work. If a man has children who can work, it is not infrequent that a widower will remain as he is, for the sake of the children. They dread a stepmother.

⁶ The Santal ploughing is something very superficial. Their plough is an instrument of very ancient model, entirely of wood, except for an iron ploughshare (a bit of iron, some 25 to 30 cm. long, some 3 cm. broad and some 7 to 9 mm. thick, placed in a space cut for it on the upper side of the plough, and kept in position by an iron staple). Except for the small iron part, the Santals make their own ploughs. It is easily understood that, with such an instrument, no

Then, one day, he asked his wife: "Why is it that, all day long, I feel that you are continually angry?"

She replied: "For some reason or other it always irritates me to see this boy."

"How can it irritate you to see him?" the man said. "Why, he is supporting himself by his own ability. He is certainly not giving you trouble of any kind whatever; how then can you be annoyed with him?"

"How?" she replied; "it makes me feel angry to see him; if this boy is to remain here, in that case I shall not remain."

"What are we then to do with the boy?" the man asked.

"Well," the woman replied, "kill the boy, or else take him somewhere and get him out of the way."

"Where am I to take him?" the man asked; "I am his father; I have affection for him also, you must understand, and you tell me to take his life. How could I possibly kill him?"

"It is easy enough to kill this boy," the woman said; "if he were my child, I should soon kill him."

"Well then," the man said, "then you kill him."

"No," the woman answered, "I shall certainly not kill any one who belongs to you. If he were mine, I should soon kill him. He is yours; do kill him yourself."

"In what way can I kill him?" the man asked. "To cut him down, — — I am feeling very much afraid at the thought."

"All right," the woman said, "I shall tell you how you are to go about killing him. When you are ploughing, make him lead, and you follow⁶ ploughing; cut the beam of the plough you use

deep ploughing is possible. The earth is just scratched a little. Ploughing can be done only when the earth is soft from rain. This method explains how it is possible for a boy to handle a plough. It is not hard work, demanding the strength of a full-grown man. Generally several ploughs are worked at the same time, one following the other, with an experienced man in charge of the front plough. When stating the age of a Santal boy, it is often done by telling that he is 'fit to plough', or, 'he can plough following after people'. Such a boy is anything from 10 years and upwards.

jokhen khub laga lagakinme. Ado ona isi coelote sobok harar ocoyem.

Ado sari uni hor do aimaiak kathageye senatte ac siok nahel isiyē lak coeloketa. Ado sarikin sioka; ado ac do adi taenom-reye tahena, ar uni gidra do adi sangine laga jitauakina. Ado din hilok onkage bae laga bhiraukina. Ado uni aimaiye mena, Okor, tisem goje kana? Am do eken ingem andha barayedin kana.

Ado unre uni hore menketa, Acha, gapa don gojea, aika, setakre lolō daka bare em gotaeme.

Adoe menketa, Acha bogege endekhan.

Ado sari dosar hilok khangē setakrege lolō loloe daka utu gotketa; adoe metadea, Ma auriye bik dhabic emaeme; akhir in gojgea, lolō dakae jom torawange.

Ado uni herel hore menketa, Okarelin sioka? Siokteak ma jotolin si cabaket; ado okarelin sioka.

Ado uni aimaiye menketa, Hana tandire gundlibo er akat, ona gundlige si giqiben; ado nahak ona gundlire dangrako atinte ohoko sen senoka. Am do nahak tayom kakinme; ado ona atin jokhen khub leka laga bhirau gotkinme, ado ona isite nahake sobok harar godoka.

Ado sari onka ror mitkate en hilok do setakrege lolō dakae emadea; ado jom barakate nahelkin joraokefa. Ado uni gidrai menketa, Henda baba, okare tehen dola sioka?

⁷ Her Santali word is *sagak*, the awn of *sauri* (*Heteropogon contortus*, R. & S.), sharp and piercing.

⁸ There are many analogies to such an attitude, even if we do not count what is reported to be done in the way of food for persons about to pay the last penalty. The writer remembers what happened some years ago to a young man, who insisted on becoming a Christian. When the day for his baptism came, he was given by his own mother the best food she could prepare, whereupon he was told that after baptism he would not be their son any longer, but a stranger, who might go wherever he liked, but not think of coming back to his old home. He was henceforth dead to them.

and give it a point sharp as a needle⁷; then whilst ploughing you drive the plough bullocks all you can. In that way stab him and transfix him on the pointed plough-beam⁶."

Then the man really listened to what the woman said and cut the end of his plough-beam into a fine point. So they were ploughing; he himself remained far behind, and the boy was driving the bullocks far away in front, always gaining on his father. In this way, his father never any day drove his bullocks close up. And the woman was constantly saying: "How is it? when are you going to kill him? You are only trying to hood-wink me."

"All right," the man then said, "I shall kill him to-morrow; mind, be sure to give him some nice warm food⁸ in the morning".

"All right, that is well then," she said.

Then really, next morning she made haste to prepare some very nice and warm rice and curry; the man said to her: "Now give him until he is satisfied; now I shall kill him; let him first have some nice warm food, as he goes away."

The man again spoke: "Where are we to plough? We have finished all there was to plough; where are we to plough?"

"In that field over there," the woman said, "we have sown millet⁹; plough that millet down; the bullocks will feed on that millet and will consequently not move quickly. You keep your bullocks behind, and whilst his ones are feeding, be quick and drive yours at once close up; then he will certainly be stabbed and transfixed on the pointed plough-beam."

So really that morning, after they had talked together and agreed as mentioned, she gave the boy some nice warm food; after they had eaten, they yoked the ploughs; then the boy said: "Look here, father, where are we to plough to-day?"

⁹ The millet here mentioned, gundli (*Panicum miliare*), is fairly commonly cultivated on the outlying high lands by the Santals.

Ado uni apattete menketa, Hane hana tandirelan sioka.

Khange nahelkin sok idiketa ona tandite; adoe metae kana, Ia babu, noa gundlilan si gidia, ado surgujalan era.

Ado uni gidraye menketa, Henda baba, noa gundli do adi con hoe akan, gapa mean khange nahak beleka. Cedaklan si gidia? Ado ma helme, noa do hoe cas kana, nahaklan baric gidia, ar tayomtela era. Ona do okoe nel akata, hoeyok con ban con. Nahak niagelan kharapkaka.

Ado sari ona kathage apattet doe bujhauketa, Baña, nui gidra do thikgeye metan kana, banma, pahil cas do pahil gidra tuluc jurik kana; nui gidra do kami leke hoeyena. Ado nui gidra hon goele khan okoe asulina? Ar sarige tayom cas leka, tayom era doe gidrako con ban con, okoe nel akata? Baña, nui gidra do qhon goleale, niã kahiste doe taenre ho banre ho.

Ado onka menkatekin arak barakatkoteye ruar hecena; adoe metadea, Gogocem metadina, ado ban golealea, ar qhon goleale, niã kahistem taenre ho banre ho. Ni eskargetinae, arhom goc ocayedina? Ado hapen tayomte dom janamko con ban con, ona do okoe nel akata?

¹⁰ The plough-cattle work in pairs. A yoke is put across the necks of the two bullocks or buffaloes, and the plough-beam is fastened to the yoke with a leather-thong. When going to or coming back from the field, the whole plough is hoisted up and carried on the yoke between the bullocks, the beam standing high up into the air.

¹¹ Surguja (Guizotia abyssynica, Cass.) is one of the most commonly cultivated oil-yielding plants. The seed (called Niger seed) yields the oil. Whilst gundli is cultivated during the rainy season, surguja is a cold-weather crop, often sown where gundli or some other crop has grown earlier in the year.

¹² Support in old age is a problem with the Santals as with other people. It is solved by giving the son with whom the old people stay some small advantage (in case there are more sons than one). If there are no sons, they will arrange with some one else (a son-in-law or an adopted son) to take care of them, on the understanding that the care-taker will get the land when the old man dies. It would not be possible to enter on details here; I only wish to say that

"You see that field over there," his father replied, "there we shall plough."

Thereupon they let the bullocks carry the ploughs suspended on the yoke¹⁰ over to the field; then the father said to him: "I say, my boy, we shall plough this millet down, and then we shall sow sunflower¹¹."

"Look here, father," the boy replied, "this millet, why, it is a heavy crop; in a few days it will ripen. Why shall we plough this down? And remember, this is a ready grown crop; to no purpose we shall destroy this, and then afterwards sow. Who has seen that, whether it will come to anything or not? To no purpose we shall ruin and destroy this."

Then the father in very truth realized the meaning of these words: "No, this boy is quite right in what he says to me; the first crop and the first children tally; this boy has become fit to work. And if I should now kill this one, who will support me¹²? Truly, like a second¹³ crop, who can tell whether a second wife will bear children or not? who has seen it? No, I shall certainly not kill this boy, whether she, being annoyed at it, will stay or not."

After having spoken in this way, they unyoked the bullocks and returned home; then he said to her: "You told me to kill; I did not kill him, and I shall certainly not kill him, whether you, being annoyed at it, will remain here or not. He is my only child; in spite of that you try to make me kill him? And whether in days to come you will bear me children or not, who has seen that?"

when it has been said that the Santals do not practise adoption, it is a mistake. The idea underlying adoption is not, however, to secure a successor, but to secure support in old age.

¹³ Meant is the cold weather crop cultivated on the same ground as the first crop, estimated as the more essential or real one. With the Santals, the second crop is practically always cultivated on their high lands, not on the lower lying rice-fields.

Ado onka mēn barakate bhageteye ruhet barakedea; ar onka ror rorteye raṅgaoen khane humāk goṭkadea. Ado uni aimai usate dārketa; ado pañja hō bae pañjalēdea.

Ado tin din cōe tahēyen; ado apat baretko āgu otokadea; ado unre noa kathae laiketa onko samañre; ado apat baret hō bogeteko. ruhetkadea, adōe tahēyena.

Ado cabayena katha dō.

22. Baḍohi sē chutar hōr reaṅ.

Sedae jokhen, kathae, miṭṭaṅ atore miṭṭaṅ kaṭ baḍohi sē chutar hōr tahēkana. Ar unkinren gidra dō miṭṭaṅ koṛa hopone tahē-kantaṭakina, ar uni chaḍa dosra gidra dō banukkotakina, janamreye ini eskargea. Ado sadher hopon iate uni dō āḍikin joton ar āḍikin dulārea, ar haṭiā baṭiā khon laḍu miṭṭhai sē uni dō bes besak jomkin emaea sēkin āguaea. Arkin cerejea, Ma bābu, hara hōdokme, āsulliṅam, kāmī goṛgaliṅam. Ado onkakin landawaea.

¹⁴ To run away, home or to near relatives, is a very common expedient with newly married women, when they are in the sulks, or are dissatisfied. If there is nothing really serious at the bottom, the husband is expected soon to follow after his wife and bring her back again, he thereby showing that he wants to live in peace. If the woman is guilty of any serious offence, or rather has given her husband real cause for complaint, the husband will often not follow his wife; others may try to make peace; this may succeed, or it may end in a divorce. Sometimes, when the relatives of the woman understand that she is at fault, they may, as here, take her back to her husband themselves. It is an acknowledgement that the husband is not to be blamed.

²² The title given by the Santal to the following story is Baḍohi sē chutar reāk katha, the story of a worker in wood or carpenter. The first part is the story of a spoilt child; the latter part may to some degree remind one of the Askelad of the Norwegian folk-tales. Except for the last portion the whole background of the story is genuine Santal.

² The present day Santals have become agriculturists. As clearers of jungle they have few to equal them in India; as agriculturists they have not as yet advanced

Having said this, he roundly rated her, and as he continued in this way, he flew into a passion and gave her a licking, whereupon the woman ran away in the sulks; but he did not even once go to look after her¹⁴.

The woman stayed away for some time; then her father and brothers brought her back¹⁴. On that occasion the man told this story to their face; then her father and brothers also scolded her roundly, whereupon she remained there.

So it is finished, this story.

22. THE STORY OF A CARPENTER¹.

ONCE upon a time long long ago, people tell, there lived in a village a man who was a worker in wood, i. e., a carpenter². He and his wife had one child, a boy; besides this one they had no other children; this was the only one born to them. And as he was their only child, the parents were taking great care of him and loved him very much; from every market-place they were in the habit of bringing him cakes and sweetmeats, and they were giving him the best kind of food. They were fondling him, saying: "Please, young man, be quick to grow big; you will support us two; you will help us in our work." In this way they were playing with him.

very far; but it may be said that it is a goal with every Santal to have, or to acquire, some land to cultivate. Whilst this is so, the Santals are not, like the Hindus, bound by caste rules to occupy themselves with any special work. A Santal man is expected to be able to make all his own implements (except at the present day what is of iron and bamboo); they have formerly generally woven their own clothes; now this is not so often done. It seems as if they have more than ordinary ability in using their hands. A good deal might be said on this point. Here I shall only mention that it is not uncommon to come across Santals who are quite good carpenters. Although the names used for people engaged in such work are of Hindi or Bengali origin, this is no reason for supposing that people so called should not be Santals.

Ado sariye harayena, kami reake lek manena. Khange apat hor do kamiye acuyea seye riqúea, Ma ya, noa ona kamime; se, hona noa den aguitalanme; se, dela tefen do kami kisare metadin tahékana, dela ondelan calaka.

Ado onkae acu baraye khange engat hor doe dhomkao godea, seye men goda, Alo sem acuyea, haralengeye. Haralen khan dingé kamigea. Alan dare bhor do alantegelan kamia. Dare ban calaktalan hilok do hapen bae asullangete? Asullangeae dingé. Ar gidra hoe ni eskargetalana. Ado kichu bae mayakgete? Mayakgeae dingé.

Ado apat hore mena, Nit khon kamilan cetae nahi thoe asullana. Nit khone kami hewalen ané, aris ho bhangaoктаea ar kami hoe ceda, ar bankhan boe boeye harayenge. Kami ho bae ceda, tobe khan cekateye asullana? Kami darele nahiye asulmea, ar bankhan boser take asulmea. Onaten acuyede kana sen delawae kana, jahā lekate jemōn inak kamiye ced. Nit khon aris bhangao akan tahentae khan, seye nel cet idile khan, ina do algategeye kami goda. Ona menkaten acuyede kana. Ar am se etakgem metañ kana. Am do ingem hantao ruaredin kana.

Ado engattete menketa, Korā hopon kanae, ban dingé cedgete? Bae asullan khan, hapen khublan dalea.

Ado metadea, Harakate dom dal darekea? Ohom dal darelea, am khon uni ma khube dareyen. Ado uni tulue dom darekoka? Ohom darelena. Ar hara hopon dalko do lajao paragea. Hororoorgea. Auri harak khon tinakem sikhau parhaoea se tinakem

³ The father takes it for granted that any one at first will feel dislike for work. The Santali word is generally used about becoming 'tired of', 'disgusted at', and the like. The talk between the father, who wants to make something out of his son, and the doting mother, may to some extent be typical. The training of children is one of the weak points with the Santals. When the young ones so often become nothing, the fault is very commonly to seek in circumstances like those here described. On the other hand, when Santal children turn out well, according to their circumstances, as often as not the mothers are to have, the credit.

So he really grew up and became fit to work. His father then tried to make use of him or requested him to help, saying: "Come, my boy, do this or that," or, "Please fetch that thing or this," or, "Come along, the rich man told me to work for him to-day; come, we shall go there."

When he tried to make him work in this way, the boy's mother would at once rebuke him, or say to him: "Don't, please, make him work; let him grow up first. When he grows up, he will be sure to work some day. We two shall ourselves work as much as we can. When the day comes that we cannot work any longer, will not he support us, or how? He will be sure to support us some time in future. He is also our only child; will he not feel pity for us, or how? Of course, he will have pity for us."

The father would then reply: "Only when we teach him from now on to work, he will support us. Only if he, from now on, becomes accustomed to work, he will not feel the dislike of work³, and he will also learn to work; and if he does not now, he will only grow up into a lazy sluggard. Work he will not learn either; then how will he support us? Only when he is able to work, he will be able to support you. That is the reason why I try to make him work, or why I ask him to come along, in order that he may somehow learn my work. If from now on he learns to get over the dislike of working, or if he, by looking on, gradually learns, he will in that way easily and quickly become competent. It is for this purpose that I am trying to employ him. Whilst you, see now you are telling me to do something else. You are putting me down."

"He is a boy," the mother said, "will he not learn some day? If he will not support us two, we shall give him a good beating by and by."

"When he grows up," the man replied, "will you then be able to beat him? You will certainly not be able to do that; he will be much stronger than yourself. Would you then be able to be a match for him? No, you will certainly not. And to thrash grown-up children is disgraceful. People will talk. As much as

ceŋaea, onageye guna aꝥ onage kajre lagaoka. Ar harakate do muskilgea. Ceŋ leka gidraꝥo do hako bārsiko laꝥaŋ khicarege jaꝥum doꝥo livena, ar joakate ma raꝥudokge, onkage gidraꝥ hō kaŋiꝥ khon tinakem aꝥu hewayea, uni gidraꝥe kaje eꝥa. Ar onkan gidraꝥeko māyāka arko aꝥsula arko guna. Ar bam aꝥu, hewale khan, uni ma amren baꝥiriye hoeyoktam. Jāhānak aŋ hōk kaꝥim aꝥuye khan, amgeye tardham ruarṃea. Ado cekate uni doꝥ aꝥu daꝥeaea? Eṇe adꝥ amge bae bhagaoketṃea? Onate koꝥa hopon se kuꝥi hopon gidraꝥ khongem aꝥu hewayede kana, ar gidraꝥ khonge kaꝥi seṇem ayur idiyede kana.

Ado onka eṇgattete dulaꝥkedete gidraꝥ hō dhomoke cetketa; apataꝥ roꝥ do baṅgeye baꝥutaka. Ado bana hoꝥtekin galmarao baꝥawade khan, oka do apat sāote kaꝥiye calaka ar oka do baṅ.

Ado onka taheṇ taheṇte uni doꝥ hara jaꝥnen khan, ato koꝥako tuluce gate hewayena. Kuꝥi sendrako ehoꝥketa, doṇ laꝥṛe eṇeꝥ seṅge se kuꝥiko seṅge moṇ calaoentaete kaꝥi doꝥ dhiṭaꝥketa. Jāhānakkin aꝥuye, ona seṇ do luturge bae luturaka. Apat kaꝥiye riayea, onte hō baṇataea.

⁴ Such relations between child and parents as here hinted at may seem strange to us; but I am afraid it is often what is met with.

⁵ Formerly, perhaps not so frequently now-a-days, Santals made their own fishing hooks as described. I have seen it done with the long sharp thorns or spikes of the bael tree (*Ægle Marmelos*, Correa). When the thorns are young, they are quite supple and flexible. At this time the thorn is bent to the required shape, the point being fixed in the bark and thus kept in position until the thorn matures, when it is removed and is strong enough to be used for catching small fish.

³ Doṇ is the name of a Santal dance, one of their most common. It is danced in daylight and at night, by all people, male and female, small and big. Doṇ is danced at marriages and at chaŋiꝥar (the festival when a young Santal is given tribal rights), now-a-days also at any other time. The music is furnished by drums, flutes, &c., and by songs. They have a special kind of drumming for this dance, also special songs and melodies.

¹ Laꝥṛe is the most common Santal* dance. When any dancing is going on, they will nearly always also have laꝥṛe. At laꝥṛe they may use drums, flutes, cymbals and other musical instruments. They also have certain melodies sung. Mostly young people make use of this dance. The girls make a row (or two rows, if necessary) with arms linked together and move slowly backwards and

you instruct and tutor a boy, or as much as you can teach him, before he grows up, so much will have an effect, and that will be of any worth. But when he is grown up, it is difficult⁴. Just like children when they are going to fish, they bend the thorn while it is immature⁵; if it is matured, it will break; in the same way, as much as you can make children accustomed to be employed from they are small, just as much that child will be of worth. And such children have affection and support their parents and are of value. And if you don't make him accustomed to be employed, he will surely become your enemy. If you put him to any kind of heavy work, he will snarl back at you. And then, how will you be able to make him work? There then, did he not gain the upper hand with you? Therefore you make both boys and girls accustomed to work from childhood on, and from childhood on you gradually lead him to work."

As his mother idolized him in this way, the boy also learnt to be arrogant; he did not at all like his father's talking to him. When both his parents spoke to him, he sometimes went with his father to work and sometimes not.

The time passed in this way, and when the boy had grown up, he became accustomed to keep company with the village boys. They commenced to run after the girls; his mind was drawn towards dancing *đo ñ*⁶ and *lạ gr*⁷, or towards the girls, and he neglected work. When they attempted to put him to something or other, he would not give ear to that at all. When his father asked him to come along and work, he was absolutely unwilling.

forwards, with their bodies swaying, the whole row at the same time circling round, so the dancers gradually face from one direction to another. Whilst the girls move in this way, they sing, and a couple of boys are jumping in front of the girls, beating the drum or whatever instrument they may have. It should be noted that Santal boys and girls in dancing never take hold of each other; this would be thought an absolute indication that there was something wrong. Except for a couple of dances that are downright obscene (danced by men alone) the Santal dances look decent and quiet; but especially the *lạ gr* gives the two sexes an opportunity of meeting at night time, with inevitable consequences.

Khange apattet 'doe acu arisen khan doe endreyena. Ado engattete metadea, Nelketam? In do pahil khon in metam kangea, alo se onka dom dulaŕea. Am do inak 'rorge bam anjomlet khan don cekamea? Un jokhen ma ingem dhomkaoedin tahēkan. Ado cet cekayena, ma nelme. Okor nit do alanak ror doe anjometa?.

Khange uni engattet doe kekleset hapeyena, cet ho bae ror ruar dareata. Khangeye metadea, Teheñ in laiam kana; judi inak katham anjomtin khan, nuilañ koboj dareaea; ar bam anjom khan, nui do qholañ kobojlea.

Adoe metadea, Acha, ma rorme.

Adoe metadea, Katha do noa kana: judi in saote kamiye calak khan, daka utu emaeme, ar bae calak khan, alom emaea.

Adoe menketa, Achañ batlao gelawaea, ar bae anjom khan, endekhan dakage ban emaea.

Ado sari batlao barakate pe pon mahae nelketa seye batlao barawadea. Ado bae anjomlettae khan, sarige pe pon mahā do bae emadea. Ado atore okoko then con gate korako orakregeye jom baraketa. Ar oka do mayate engtatet ho apat ban taheñ ghuriye em okowaegea. Are metaea, Kami bam calak kante, babu, apume edren kana. Apum songete kami do calakme bare. Am karonte apum do inge bogeteye dhuñgrauedin kana. Kami do calakme bare.

Ado un jokhen uni kora do cet ho bae ror ruara, hape akangeye tahena, enhō kami sen do banataea. Khange mit din do dakaē em akawade, are jojom kane hec nam gotkedeā. Khangeye ruhet gotkedeā, Kurhia heñgla mara, okoe arjaoak yam jojom

⁸ The whole might be taken out of life; but it is evident that the narrator does not approve of such behaviour.

⁹ The Santals have not the kind of swearing and cursing used by Europeans; the only expression coming near to it, which the writer for the moment can call to mind, is one used by women, viz., *tēnae* (or with another pronoun, *tēnam*, or *tēnape*, &c.) *gañke herel*, lit. man on which a log should be pressed down; the expression implies a wish that the person in question might be on the funeral pyre when logs are put across the body. The language is, however, full of expletives. Women may use a few of these; but it is not considered

His father ultimately became tired of asking him to work, and got angry; he said to his wife: "Do you see? I have from the very first been telling you, please don't love him in this way. As you have not listened to what I have said, what can I do with you? When I spoke, you rebuked me. Now see what it has resulted in. Whenever does he now listen when we speak to him?"

The boy's mother then became frightened and silent; she could not answer a single word. Her husband then said to her: "I am telling you to-day; if you listen to what I say, we shall be able to subdue him; but if you don't, we shall never be able to bring him into subjection."

"Very well," she replied, "speak then."

"What I have to say is this," the man said, "if he goes with me to work, give him curry and rice, and if he won't go, don't give him."

"Very well," she replied, "I shall try to make him understand, and if he will not listen, then I shall give him no food."

She thereupon really tried to make him understand, and looked for results for three or four days, that is to say, she tried; and as he would not listen to her, she really did not give him food for three or four days. He had food somewhere in the village, in the house of some or other of his chums. And sometimes his mother also, when his father was not there, would out of pity secretly give him food. She would then say to him: "As you do not go to work, my boy, your father is angry. Do go with your father to work. On account of you your father is speaking very harshly to me⁸. Do go and work, please."

At such time the boy would not answer anything; he would remain silent; still go and work, that he was quite unwilling to do. Then one day when she had given him food and he was eating, his father came and found him. "You lazy sluggard," he scolded him, "whose earnings are you eating now, you scamp? If there is any work, then he stares like a dead cat, and if there is food to be had, if he can get a lot of food, then, dash it⁹, he

kana ya? Kāmi sēk khan, gōc pusiye beṅgeda, ar daka jom sēn khan dō khub daka jom khan eṅgate beḡe beḡeye cahap āguia. Iā gidra, dallan dalmea sē, gai dallan dalmea.

Ado onkae ruhetede kanre hō uni kora dō cet hō bae ror ruarleta, tumbutkate daka jomjon kana. Ado uni apat hor dō, eṅgattēt sēn kathae ucarkeṭa. Eṅgattēte ruhetede kana, Am hō inak kathage bam anjoma. Nōkōe nonka in ban taḡenre dakam emaea. Oko okotem em okowae kana. Nonkate dō chāiae inak katha dōe anjoma. Amge eṅgate nui dōm barmaṇḍkedeā, tōberege inak katha dō bae anjometa. Inak katha dō ičak jōtak. Asulok sēn in budiyet khan, inak katha ma tahēge ban taḡen kan, ado boser tākem batlaoa. Kāmi āgu sēn nalha āguaben kana, ar aben dō eṅga hōn beḡe beḡeben jomjon kana eṅgate. Nonkate aben dō inḡeben andak hamkidiṅa. Aben eṅga hōn dōben miṭ mōnena, ado in eskarte dō cet in cekaea?

Ado unake ror idiketere hō unkin dō miṭ katha hō bakin ror-leta, bana hor thirgekin tahēyena. Ado enka ror barakate khangē nui hōe thirena.

Khangē dosar hilok uni kora dō ac eṅgattēte metae kana, Iā ayo, in dō oraḡrege ban taḡena. Bogete babae ruhetediṅ kana, ar in karonte am hō bogeteye ruhetetmea. In karonte cakben kaphariuka?. Inḡe ban taḡena, inā dō jhograge caba daporoka.

Adge metadea, Okate, beṭam calaka? Alom calaka. Apum dō ror ocoae.

nice and comme-il-faut. Many men seem unable to speak without filling up with this kind of words, feeling, as they express it, that their language is 'tailless', if they leave these words out. It should, however, be noted, that the use of all these expletives is not considered fully proper. At the present day some of them, perhaps most of them, have worn down to mean very little, especially not what they have originally meant. But it is not more than a generation ago that people were brought before the village Five and fined, if they had used certain improper words. Some of the expletives have lost every meaning; the one used in the Santal text here (eṅgate, pronounced sometimes with stress on the initial vowel, sometimes with stress on the much lengthened a)

comes with his mouth wide open. You unspeakable child, we two¹⁰ shall give you a beating, be sure; as they beat a cow, we two shall beat you."

Although he was scolding him in this way, the boy did not answer anything; with his head bent he continued eating his food. His father then turned towards his mother, and commenced to scold her: "You don't listen to what I say either. Here you see, in this way you give him food, when I am away. Secretly you give him on the sly. In this way he will be sure to heed my words! You, dash it⁹, you have indulged and spoiled the boy; that is the reason he does not heed what I say. What I say is like dirt, at once wiped off. When I am having in mind how we shall be supported, what I say does not count at all; and you instruct him to no purpose whatever. I am working at home or working for wages and bring you what you need, and you, both mother and son, are eating as much as you can gape over, dash it. In this way you two have made me sick. You two, mother and son, have become of one mind; then what can I do alone?"

Although he talked on in this way, the two other ones did not answer a single word; both of them remained silent. And when the man had spoken in this manner, he also stopped.

The following morning the boy said to his mother: "I say, mother, I shall not stay at home. Father is scolding me exceedingly much, and for my sake he is scolding you also exceedingly. Why should you two quarrel on my account? I shall not stay at home; then there will be an end to the squabble at least."

"Where will you go, my son?" she asked. "Don't go away. Let your father talk."

I have not heard a Santal able to explain. It likely originally means 'by the female principle', 'by mother', or something similar. It might be noted that most of the expletives used by men seem to have reference to the sexual organs or to natural functions.

¹⁰ Dual in threatening language.

Raṇa, ayo, calakgeañ. Am hõm edreañ kangea. Am hõ pe pon din ma daka hõ bam emadiña, onate inak mon dõ aḍi utaṛ loḱ kantiña. Abengeben janamkidiña, abengeben aṣul harakidiña, aḍo nõḱõ nitkate dõ abengeben koṣṭoyediñ kana. Abenge baben emañ khan, in dõ okareñ nama? Boge dõ atore gate koṛako tahõkan teṛoñ, ar bañkhan in dõ reñgeṭeben goḱ-
lidiñ tahõkana.

Adõ metadea, Apumge tho onkae metadiña, onatege bañ ematmea. Henda beṭa, toḃe ingeñ baṛiḱeta? Acha, aḍo qhoñ onkamea. Uni dõ ror ocoae ma. Ror dõ sahaokakme.

Adõ menketa, E ayo, harayenañ, nit dõ onkan ror bañ sahao dareak kana, ar okare bañ taheñ? Siñ saṭup nãhãḱ onkageye roṛeña. Ar am hõ tinre bam emañ? Eñe tho hola hõ dakañ jojom kan jokheñgeye heḱ namkidiña. Daka hõ sukte dõ bañ jomleṭa. Adõ inṇa karõnte am hõ tinṇaḱe ruhetkeṭmea. Adõ, ayo, jivire bañ sahoṃ lekageñ aḱaṇeta. Adõ nẽḱẽñ lai oṭoam kana, jãhãteñ oḍok calaka.

Adõ metadea, Jãhãte dõ, beṭa? Okatem calaka? Alom calaka. Bañ jut nãhãḱ in aḱaṇa.

Adõ metadea, Jãhãtege mẽṭ lutur calaktiñ, ontegeñ calaka.

Khange eṅgattetaḱ mẽṭ daḱ dõ hiḍir hiḍir joro goṭentaea. Adõ jãhãnak bae ror dareata, ekkalte linkede lekae aḱaṇuketa. Adõ eñ hilok ñindage tinkore coñ kicriḱoe namkeṭtaea, ar miṭṭaṇ baṣlaḱ ar miṭṭaṇ rukai okoketa. Adõ kedokko jom baṛakeṭ khan, uni

¹¹ In Santali lit. 'burning'.

¹² A very common Santali expression, lit. 'anywhere eyes ears go'!

¹³ The adze (in Santali baṣlaḱ) is a tool like an axe, but with the edge crossing the direction of the handle. It is used for cutting away surface of wood, the end of the handle being kept in the armpit or near there, while the worker catches hold of the handle near to the adze itself. It is slow work, but a skilled man may do very nice work with it. The Santal uses the adze in many cases where others would make use of a plane. There are several forms of the baṣlaḱ, but the principle is the same with all.

"No, mother, I shall go. You also are angry with me. You also did not give me any food for three to four days; therefore, my heart is feeling exceedingly sore¹¹. You two have given birth to me; you two have maintained me and brought me up; and then, see now, now you two are making it hard for me. If you two don't give me, where am I to get anything? It was fortunate there were some chums of mine in the village, otherwise you two would have made me die from hunger."

"It was your father," she replied, "he told me this; therefore I did not give you. I say, my son, have I then done wrong? Very well, I shall not treat you so any more. Let him talk as much as he likes. Stand the talk."

"Mother," the boy said, "I am grown up; I cannot stand such talk now any more, and where should I stay? All day long he will be sure to give me a talking to of this kind. And when would you find an opportunity of giving me anything? Remember, yesterday also, whilst I was having my food, he came and caught me unawares. I could not have my food in peace even. And then, on this account, how much did he not scold you also? Therefore, mother, I feel as if I cannot stand it any longer. So there now, I am telling you beforehand; I am going away to some place or other."

"To some place or other, my son?" she asked. "Where are you going? Don't go away. I shall feel heart-sick."

"Wherever my eyes and ears will lead me¹²," the boy replied, "there I shall go."

Then the tears commenced to flow down from his mother's eyes, and she was unable to speak; she felt just as if some one was throttling her. That same night, some time or other, the boy collected his clothes and hid an adze¹³ and a chisel¹⁴. When

¹⁴ The chisel (in Santali rukṣ) used by carpenters does not in form diverge much from the plain bevelled-edge chisel of others. It varies in size. Both this and the baṣiṭ are manufactured by the local blacksmiths.

engattet do korawak katha apattete laiae kana, bañma, Babu do nonka onkae menet kana.

Khange apattet doe rangao gotenteye men gotketa, Bese calaoen khange, kurhia mara. Sen ocoae.

Khange riniçtet hoe thir dorokena. Arho uni korā do ona kathaē añjoman khan, artetge mon do khatō cabayentaea. Ado tin nindare cōñ orak khone ođok calaoena, diṣa hō bakin diṣa gotledea. Ar hortē jom nūi lagat do cetge bae idiana; inā baṣla ar rukageye idi toraketa. Ado kadraote ulṭi baṭe ođok calaoena.

Ado calak calakte ađi saṅgiñe calaoena. Mon kadrao akantaete tin saṅgiñ cōe calaoen, ona do bae diṣa hudisleta, ar un jokhen do reñgeç hō bae aṭkauleta. Ado tara siñ jokhen se huđiñ dak lo ber khange reñgeçkedeā, ar jaegak reake hudis baṛayeta. Ado onka hudis baṛakate miṭṭaṇ dare buṭareye duṛupena. Miṭṭaṇ ato sor dare buṭareye duṛup akan taḥkēkana. Ar ona dare buṭarege ona atoren hoṛ do goç daṅgrako khal jom baṛakoa. Ado onyeṛe duṛup akan ṭhenge daṅgra jaṅko do bogete menaka. Ado cet cōe hudiskette ona daṅgra jaṅ doe sapkette baṣlateye lak eñeç kana, ar kaṭiç kaṭiçe lak chaḍaoeta. Ar mon do okaretāe cōñ, aṭrige ona doe lak baṛayeta. Ado cekate cōñ onae pohomket khan doe nelket do caole leka nelok kan. Khangeye menketa,

¹⁵ It seems strange that the story does not reflect on the boy being himself the cause of his father's attitude.

¹⁶ If a Santal takes himself off, having, or imagining he has, a grudge, he will generally start without saying good-bye. If there are any formalities imposed by custom and usage, they have ceremonial leave-taking; but otherwise there is the least possible. It has been a pitiful trait in Santal history that they take themselves off, instead of standing up.

¹⁷ The Santals having no clocks, divide the twenty four hours according to what is done at certain times, according to the position of sun or stars, or according to light, cock-crow, etc. They are never far out of the true reckoning. In the afternoon they have maraṇ dak lo ber (big water drawing time) and huđiñ dak lo ber (lit. small water drawing time), the former referring to a time when the sun is high up, and the latter to a time about one hour later.

they had had their supper, the boy's mother told the father what the boy had said, viz. "the boy is saying so and so."

The boy's father then^a flew into a passion and said: "Excellent if he goes away, the lazy sluggard. Let him go."

His wife then did not say anything more, what would be the use? The boy also, when he heard what was said, became still more down-hearted¹⁵, and some time during the night he went away from home; they were not aware of his going¹⁶. He did not take anything with him to eat and drink on the way; only his adze and chisel he took with him, and in high dudgeon he went off, not knowing whereto.

Walking along he went far away. He was so upset in his mind, he was not aware of and did not think how far he had gone, and all this time he felt no hunger either. Then, in the middle of the afternoon, or at the time when the women fetch water¹⁷, he became hungry; he also commenced to think of where he should spend the night. Whilst his thoughts were occupied in this way, he sat down at the foot of a tree. He was sitting under a tree that was near to a village. At the foot of that tree the inhabitants of the village were in the habit of flaying and eating dead bullocks¹⁸. In the place where he was sitting there was consequently a lot of bones of bullocks. Who knows what was in his mind, as he picked up a bullock-bone and commenced to amuse himself chipping it with his adze; he was chipping off tiny bits. His mind was wandering, who knows where; he was chipping and chipping, without giving it a thought. Then, as he somehow became aware of what he was doing, he saw it was looking like rice. So he said to himself: "Oh, I have no rice;

At these times women go to fetch the water they need for cooking^{the} evening meal, &c. They approximately correspond to our 4 p. m. and 5 p. m.

¹⁸ This can scarcely be said to be Santal. The writer has never heard of anything of this kind among them. They will, of course, slaughter and eat bullocks, but it is of necessity of such rare occurrence that there would not be time for any collection of bones.

Ho, caole hō banuktiña. Noage bes hikmōtkateñ lak caolea, ar jāhāe in daka ocokoa. Ado onka menkate sariye lak caoleket khan, amdaj miť lot tala gan hoeyena. Ado menketa, Ho, niage jāhāegini daka ocokoa. Ado onka menkate kicićreye ghētketa.

Ado onde, khon calak calakte mitñan atoe namketa. Ar bela hōe jhōl phōlaok kanteye menketa, Tehēñ dō niā atoregeñ gitić aṅgalenge. Gapa dō arhō jāhā sen in calaka. Ado onka menkate ona atoteye rakapena. Ado mitñan oṛakre bes piṇḍako menak-takoa. Ado menketa, Neko. ṭhengeñ bōlōka, neko ṭhen in tahē aṅgalenge. Judi raca senak piṇḍare bako gitić ocoañ khan, niā kuḍam senak piṇḍare dō janićko gitić ocoañgea. Monre onka hudis barakette ona oṛak raca sene bōloyena, adoe hōhō saḍeketa, Cele, baba peṛa, menakpea sē bañ?

Ado ona hōhō aṅjomte mitñan kuṛiye oḍokena. Ado peṛae menette parkome beladea. Ado kulikedeā, Oka sen khon peṛa dō? Ba coñ ṇel orometme.

Ado menketa, Peṛa doñ bañ kana, ayo, in doñ gitić reṅgeć hoṛ kana. Ado noa piṇḍako aḍi sapha ar uḍi sahtañ ṇelkettapeteñ

¹⁹ An approximate Santal way of giving a measure. When they are to state the size of, or to give the measure of something, they do it by showing how much or how little, how big or how small, with any suitable part of their body, especially hands and fingers. Their standards of measure are consequently in accordance with this. For comparison they also use well-known natural objects of a fairly uniform size. At the present time they have, as a matter of course, had to learn to make use of standardized weights and measures.

²⁰ Santal houses are built round a court-yard, to which the doors lead. On the same side as the door the dwelling houses generally have more or less of a verandah, according to circumstances, the eaves being more or less lengthened.

²¹ Now and then, but not as a general custom, the eaves on the back side of the house are also lengthened, so as to form the roof of a small verandah. This is, however, seen more frequently with other races.

²² In Santali baba peṛa, lit. father friend. Baba is used in respectfully addressing men older than oneself; peṛa means a relation, or a friend, and may originally have been used about a person known to be, or supposed to be related, in any case belonging to the Santal race. Now the word may be used also like our

I shall use my skill and chip this into rice, and then I shall get somebody to prepare food with it." He was thinking this, and when he had chipped the bone into bits like rice, he had about as much as will go on the open hand¹⁹; and he said: "Oh, this I shall get somebody to prepare food of." With this intention he tied it up in his cloth.

As he was walking along from this place, he reached a village. As the sun was just setting, he said: "I shall sleep to-night in this village. To-morrow I shall go somewhere else." Thinking so, he went into the village. In one house they had good verandahs, and he said: "I shall go in to these people; let me stay the night with these. If they will not let me sleep in the verandah facing the court-yard²⁰, they will likely let me lie down in the verandah here on the backside of the house²¹." Having thought so by himself, he entered the court-yard of this house and called out: "I say, good friends²², are you here or not?"

Hearing this shout, a girl came out, and as he used the word 'friend', she placed a bedstead for him to sit on, whereupon she asked him: "From what side is the friend? Why, I cannot recognize you."

"I am not a related friend, mother²³," the boy answered, "I am a person in need of a place to pass the night, and as I saw

'friend'. It may be noted that, when a Santal meets a stranger at night, and he thinks it is another Santal, he will address him (or her) by *pera hor*, somewhat corresponding to 'kinsman'. When known to each other, they will use the special term, or, e. g., 'father of so and so', 'aunt of so and so', and so on.

Santals may be heard to address girls, even children, as 'mother'. It is intended to show respect and to reassure the person addressed that the speaker may be trusted. People of the so-called *kharwar* movement among the Santals have at times insisted on their followers always using this term in addressing females. I believe also people of other races may do the same. I have heard Bengalis do so. When we do the same, the 'sentimental' background is somewhat different.

boloŷena. Adoñ menketa, Oṛakre bañkhan niṇ piṇḍakore do janičko gitić ocoakgea. Ado onka menkate, ayo, ape then doñ . boloŷena, ar bañkhan peṛa doñ bañ kana.

Adoḡe metadea, Hē, nōkōe piṇḍako do uḍi sahta menaktalea. Noakore doḷe araggea. Nonkage aḍi hoṛko gitićale kangea. Ma nōkōe, aika piṇḍakorege tho.

Adoḡe menketa, Acha, in bidisiṇ hoṛ do piṇḍakore hōñ bes-okgea.

Arhō uni kuriye menketa, Ale do baḍohi hoṛ kanale. In baba aḍiye baḍohia, onate ale oṛakre do siñ saṭup hoṛ reak hel kana. Setak ayup miṭ lagharge hoṛko tahena, onate sahta doḷe piṇḍa akata, jemōn noakore hoṛko duṛup. Teheñ do in baba ar in go bañukkinte hoṛ hō bako heć baṛak kana.

Adoḡe kulikedeā, Am go ar am baba do okatekin sen akana?

Adoḡe metadea, Nhatere phalna ato menaka, onḍe peṛa hoṛokkin sen akana. Teheñge ruṛa mentekin sen akana. Ado nōkōe, nit hō bakin ṇelok kana. Bañḍokin hijuk kan bañḍo bañ.

Ado uni koṛae menketa, Iṇ, ayo, miṭ kathañ metam kana. Katha do ceṭ hō bañ. Caole do menaktiña, ado dayakatēm dakaletin khan, aḍi boḡe hoekoḡa.

Adoḡe metadea, Hē, daka daṛeakañ. Deñ ente caole emañme.

Ado haṭake aguketa, onareye raṛawadea. Ado idikate uni kuri do ona caole do ṇeḷe ṇeḷeta se, khub leka aṛi bañdhiye ṇeḷeta. Are meneta, Caole ma saphage ṇelok kan, ado cekate keṭeḡe aḡaḡuk kana? Adoḡe menketa, Noa caole do bañ dakaēa; aleak dakagele emaea. Ado onka menkate ona caole doḡe doḡokata, acoakgeye isinadea.

²⁴ See above note 20 & 21. To build for a purpose like that here mentioned is not common, but may be met with "also among the Santals. It presupposes some kind of position which involves visits of strangers.

²⁵ A standing formula, used to introduce even the most momentous matter. It is possibly intended to imply that the person addressed may do as he likes, to take notice of it or not.

these very clean and spacious verandahs of yours, I entered.* And I said to myself: 'They will likely let me lie down, if not in the house then somewhere here in the verandah'. With such thoughts, mother, I have come in here to you; else I am not a related friend."

"Yes," the girl replied, "as you see, we have very spacious verandahs. Hereabouts we permit people to find a place. In this way lots of people lie down with us. Please, find a place; but, mind, somewhere in the verandahs."

"All right," he said to her, "a man from another country like myself will do very well in the verandah also."

Then the girl spoke again: "We are carpenters. My father is much occupied working in wood; therefore there is all day long lively with people. Morning and evening we have constantly people here; therefore we have provided spacious verandahs, in order that people may sit in these²⁴. To-day my father and my mother are not at home; therefore people do not come."

"Your mother and your father", he asked her, "where have they gone?"

"Over in that direction," she replied, "there is such and such a village; they have gone there on a visit to friends. They have gone with the intention of returning to-day. But you see, even now they are not to be seen. A question whether they will come or not."

"I say, mother," the boy said, "I have something to say to you. It is not worth mentioning²⁵. I have some rice, and if you would be so very kind and cook it for me, it would be very well."

"Yes, I am able to do that," she said to him. "Please, then, give me the rice."

She brought a winnowing fan, and he untied and let it run out on this for her. When she had taken it in, the girl commenced staring at this rice; she looked carefully at it and examined it, and she was saying to herself: "The rice is looking clean enough; how is it that it is so hard to feel at?" Again she said: "I shall not cook this rice; I shall give him of our food." With this thought she put that rice aside and cooked some of their own for him.

Ado daka auriye ɛmaerege ɛngat apatkin seɽer goɽena. Ado onɽenak duk suke kuli baraketkina. Ado onakate uni koɽa daka-katae lagit caoleye ɛm akawade, ona caoleye udukakin kana. Metakin kanae, Mase, ayo, noa caole ɛlben; cet leka ɛelok kana?

Ado saɽi bana hoɽ sapkatekin ɛl barayeta. Adokin metadea, Henda mai, noa caole do okarem namketa? Nonkan caole ma banuktabon coɽ. Okarem namketa?

Adoɽ menketa, Mase ɛnte ɛlben, caole kana se ban.

Ado arho divhe marsalkate khub leka aɽi baɽdhikin ɛlket khan dokin metadea, Noa do, mai, caole do ban kana. Noa do jan leka ɛelok kana. Okarem nam akata?

Adoɽ menketa, Nui abo ɽhene heɽ akan, nui koɽage daka ocok lagate ɛm akawadiɽa. Metadiɽae, Ne, ayo, nia caole dakakatiɽpe! Ado caole leka ban aikaulette ban dakalettaea, aboakgeɽ khadle baɽti akata, ar ɛm do ban ɛm akawadea.

Adokin kulikedeaa, Henda mai, bam kuliledea okaren kanae mente?

Adoɽ menketa, Onako do ban kuliledea, Eken gitiɽ ɽhaoye kulikidiɽa, Aragape se ban? Adoɽ metadea, Noke, noa piɽdakore dole arakkegea. Ado onka menkateye duɽupena. Are menketa, Teheɽ do nonde ape ɽhengeɽ gitiɽ reɽgeɽapea. Ne ayo, nia caole dakakatiɽpe. Onkae menkette iɽ do caoleɽ ataɽketteɽ aguketa. Ado okaren gitiɽ reɽgeɽ hoɽ kan coe, ona do ban kuliledea.

Adokin menketa, Achaliɽ kuliyea. ar uni lagat hoɽm daka akat khan, ma emaeme. Arkin menketa, Nui do khub baɽdohi hoɽ kanae. Noke jokhon jaɽe caole oco akata, nui kiye koɽm baɽdohi kana? Koɽm baɽdohi hoɽ do nonka bako tear daɽeaka. Baɽdohi doo soɽosgea.

Arhoɽkin menketa, Henda mai, cet lekan hoɽ kanae, haɽama seye koɽagea?

26 This part of the story is not much in accordance with what is usual. But it is not impossible.

Before she gave him his food, her parents arrived. She asked them how people were faring where they had been. After this she showed them the rice that the boy had given her to cook for him, and said to them: "Look here, mother, look both of you at this rice; how does it look?"

Then both of them took a little and had a look at it, whereupon they asked her: "Look here, my girl, where have you got this rice? Why, we have no rice of this kind. Where did you get it?"

"Do look well at it," the girl said, "is it rice or not?"

And when they with lamp light had again looked very carefully at it, they said to her: "This, my girl, is not rice. It looks like bone. Where have you got it?"

"He who has come to us," she replied, "that boy has given it to me to get food cooked. He said to me: Here, mother, please cook this rice for me. But as I did not feel it like rice, I did not cook his; I put in some more of our own; but I have not given him anything."

"Look here, my girl," they asked her, "did you not ask him from where he is?"

"No," she replied, "I did not ask him about those matters. He only asked me for a place to lie down in, saying: Do you allow people a place here or not? Then I said to him: Here, somewhere on the verandah, we might let people have a space. And after having talked in this way, he sat down. Then he said: To-day I shall pass the night with you. Here, mother, please cook this rice for me. When he had said this, I received the rice and brought it in. But from where he is, this man in need of a place to sleep in, that I did not ask him."

"All right," they said, "we shall ask him, and as you have prepared food also for him, give it to him." They said: "He must be an excellent carpenter. Look at this, since he has been able to make bone into rice, would you think he is an inferior kind of carpenter? An inferior kind of carpenter would never be able to make anything like this. As a carpenter he is first rate."

Again they said: "Look here, my girl, what kind of a man is he? is he old or is he a young man?"

Aḍe menkeṭa, Bae harama, baba, khub koṛa kanae, ar dekte sunte hō khub mōñje ṅelok kana.

Adokin menkeṭa, Henda māi, nuige għardi jāwāeliñ dōhōam khan dom tahēkoka se oho? Am hōm am eskargea, babon saṅgea. Ado dōhole khan dom khusikoka se oho?

Ado uni kūrīye menkeṭa, Oko baḍae ente, ona dō abengeben baḍaea. Abenge ceṭ lekanko then cōben ṭhāoeñ, ona dō abengeben baḍaea. Abenge ṅel khusikben ente. Nigeben dōhōaṅ khan dōñ tahengea, ar abenben bañle khan, ina hō bogege. Inṭeñ mena, nui dōhōaṅben mente, ado tayomre hapen in cōben nisṛauiñ. Ona iate in dō ceṭ hō ohoñ menlea. Ado abenak khusi.

Adokin menkeṭa, Acha, gapa setakliñ ṅellege, eṇḍe ena jāhāṭak doliñ mena. Ma daka loepe, ar bes lekage daka dō emaepe. Oka dō dakate hōko loḅhaokgea.

Ado daka lo barakette, dakko taṅkette oṛakteko hōhō aderkedea, ado rokoṛok lekageko emadea. Ado ona daka jojom kan jokhenkin ṅele kana. Ado nakhe mukhe dō besgekin ṅelkedea. Khange un jokhenkin kuliye kana, Henda baḅu, am dom okaren kana, ar okatem calak kana?

Ado uniye menkeṭa, Phalna disom phalna atoren kanañ, ar in baba dō phalnawaea. Ar in dō disom ṅelgeñ oḍok akana. Jāhā seṅge calak sanañ, oṇṭegeñ calaka. Jāhāre kisār in ṅamleko khan, enko ṭhengeñ tahēkoka.

Adokin metadea, Henda baḅu, ale thenle dōhōmea; tahēkokam se oho?

Aḍe menkeṭa, Hape ente, aṅgalenge, inaṅ monreñ bujḥau baṛalege. Nit dō ceṭ hō ohoñ men daṛelea. Noa katha gapa kuliñpe, ado unre joto katha dōbon galmaraoa.

²⁷ Baḅu, the common word of address to a man younger than oneself, has possibly no connexion with the Bengali title of 'babu'. The word is in Santali used also about membrum virile.

²⁸ A genuine Santal trait. There are very few Santals who do not enjoy disom ṅel, to see country, as it is called. They do not object to hardship and real difficulties, if they can satisfy their wishes in this respect.

"He is not old, father," she replied; "he is a strapping young man, and as to appearances, he is very nice-looking."

"Look here, my girl," they said, "if we give you this one for your husband, would you stay with him or not? You are also an only one; we are not many. If we kept this one, would you be pleased or not?"

"Who knows?" the girl replied; "you two will know about that. What kind of people you will settle me with, that you two must know. You two see that you are satisfied, therefore. If you give me this one, I shall stay; but if you two are unwilling, then that is also good. If I myself should say that you should give me this one for a husband, you would without doubt afterwards some day upbraid me. Therefore I shall say nothing at all. It is as you like."

"Very well," they said, "we shall first have a look at him to-morrow morning; then only we shall decide one way or the other. Now take the rice out of the pot, and give him a good portion. Sometimes food will also make a person desirous²⁶."

So they took the food out of the pot, poured out water and called the boy in; and they gave him so that it was a feast to his eyes. Whilst he was now eating his food, they were looking at him. They saw he was of good appearance and comely. At this time they commenced asking him: "Look here, young man²⁷, where do you come from, and where are you going?"

"I am from such and such a country and such and such a village," he replied, "and my father's name is so and so. I have come out to see foreign countries²⁸. In whatever direction my mind takes me, there I shall go. If I find a good master anywhere, I might stay with him."

"Look here, young man," they said to him, "we shall keep you here with us; would you be willing to stay or not?"

"Wait a while then," he answered; "let morning come first; I must think the matter over. Just now I am unable to say anything. Ask me about this to-morrow morning; then we shall talk together about it all."

Ado enka men barakatege en hilok doko thir barayena. Ar uni do dakae jom odoeken khan, arho pindategeye calaoente otre bin atettege otreye kundlan akana. Ado ako ho dakako jom baraket khan, parkomko ader baraketa, adoko galmaraojon kana. Menetako, Jawae lek do bhagegeye helok kana, ar ror ho aran do besge anjomok kantaea, bae gungrawa. Ar nui ar abo matikin do khubkin jurikoka. Cet ban se, boeha lekakin helkoka. Ia, ti janga nakhe mukhe ma besgeye helok kan. Ado kamige cet lekantaea, inage ohobon men darelea, ar bankhan hor doe besgea.

Ado uni maejiu hore menketa, Horte do khub in khusiyena; hor dobon enkangea. Ar kami bae badae khan, babon cetaea? Jan jokhone caoleketa, ona do begor badaetegeye caole akata? Badaegeae. Ado pariskoge cet leka jutoka se ban, inage mitan katha do.

Ado uni herel hore menketa, He sari, ina do thikgem meneta. Onako auribo kuliyetege jawae reakbon galmarao kan, noa do adi lelha reak katha kana. Ado men gotketa, Do tho notege hohgae ma. Tinak ontore ac eskare tahena? Notege hohgae ma, ar onakobon kuliyea.

Ado sari uni budhige uni then calaoenteye hoho sadeketa, Japitketam, babu pera hor?

Ado uniye menketa, Ban japit akata, kundel akangean. Ado cedakem hohgan kana?

Ado uni budhiye menketa, Dela note orak senregele jaegamea. Am eskar notere tinakem tahena? Ale hirlam hec akana. Dela note orakregele jaegamea. Onoko minge, Horte ror hor do

²⁹ The bedsteads are light and easily moved from one place to another by one person. During day-time they are frequently used to sit on; when not in use, they are put somewhere out of the way, generally on end, or rather on side.

³⁰ The appearances play a considerable part in choosing a mate.

³¹ The Santals are endogamous with regard to tribe, but exogamous with regard to sept. A Santal must marry a Santal, or be outcasted; but he must not marry within his own sept or sub-tribe; if he does this, he is also outcasted.

³² See above notes 22 & 27.

After they had had this talk, they did not mention this any more that day. When he had done eating, he again went out to the verandah and was lying on the floor, having thrown himself down without anything underneath. When they themselves were ready with their food, they took their bedsteads ²⁹ and commenced talking together. They were saying: "He looks very well, suitable as a son-in-law, and his talk and voice are nice to hear; he is not tongue-tied. And he and our girl would be splendidly matched. What would it not be? they would look like brother and sister. I say, his hands and feet, his countenance are looking nice; but then, what he is as a worker we are unable to say; otherwise the man is good enough ³⁰."

The mother then said: "I am very well pleased with the man; we Santals are such. And if he does not know to work, can we not teach him? As he was able to make bone into rice, has he done that without knowing how to work? Of course, he knows. But then the septs ³¹, how will they fit in? that is one matter."

The man then said: "Yes, that is true; it is right what you say. Before we ask him about these matters, we are talking about making him our son-in-law; that is very foolish." Then he quickly added: "Do let him be called in here. How long is he to remain alone out there? Let him be called in here, and we shall ask him about these matters."

Then, truth to tell, the old woman went out to him and called out: "Are you asleep, young friend ³²?"

"No," he replied, "I am not sleeping; I am lying down. Why are you calling me?"

"Come over here," the woman said, "we shall give you a place for the night inside. Why should you remain alone out here? You have come and taken shelter with us. Please come over here, we shall give you a place for the night in the house. It is a common saying: People speaking to each other on the road are all related ³³."

³³ When you have entered into conversation with somebody, you are not strangers any longer.

jotoge pera. Eka haṇḍi salpat manwa doḃon miṭgea. Gai dō gai palge, ar hoṛ dō hoṛ palge. Jāhāre miṭ hoṛ eskar dō babon tahē dareaka. Ar okoe hoṛ murukkate eskafko tahē aṅgak kangea, menkhan uḍi nacarte. Ar gai hō jāhārenko aṭlen khan, ar jāhāren gaiḱo ḥamleko khan, enko sāotegeko tahē aṅgaka. Ar bako ḥamleko khan, tahē doko tahē aṅgak kangea, menkhan uḍi jivi koṭopkate. Ar am dōm manwa kana, ale hirlam bōloyena. Tōḃe khanem pera kangea. Dela bes okōṭele jagakama. Inā dō jāhā hilokem lai baralea, baṇma, Phalna atore, phalna hoṛ then in bōlōlena. Uḍi bhale sābiṭ pera kanako. Jōm hōko emadiṇa ar apnar hoṛ leka oṛakreko jaegakidiṇa. Nonka hapen senlen khan, bam lai baraea? Ar noa dhartire dō, bābu, bar lekan hoṛgeko ṇutumok kana. Miṭ dō khub bhage hoṛ se khub māyāk hoṛ; ar miṭ dō aḍiteṭ kharap hoṛ se bōdmas hoṛ. Neko bar lekan hoṛge noa dhartire dō man menaktakoa, ar baṅkhan celeak hō man dō bānukan. Arhō mucatre dō ulṭagea kathateṭ dō. Metakme cet leka ulṭau? Ona dō nonka kana: metakme bes hoṛ dō baṛic sene lekheyena, ar baṛic hoṛ dō bes sene lekheyena. Ona dō metakme nonkare roṛogok kana. Bes hoṛ judi jāhān kaṛe, se hajotreye paraolen khan, seye goḱlen khan, unre hoṛko mena, Uh! phalna dō aḍi bhage hoṛe tahēkana, goḱ giḍiyenae. Ado ene unre uni bes hoṛ dōm giḍiyena. Ar jāhāe baṛic hoṛ onkan ghoṭnareye paraolen khan, seye goḱlen khan, unre hoṛko mena, Bhageyenae, goḱenae. Uni dō nonka se onkae tahēkana. Ado ene un jōkhen uni baṛic hoṛ dōe bhageyenae. Ado mase oka lekan katha aṛaṇok kana?

Ado ināk khangē haṛame hōhō goṭkeṭa, Onteregeben leher maraoet dō! Note dō baben hijuka? Inā dō ale hōle aṇjom cet barajōna. Notege aḡuyem; noteregebon galmaraoa.

³⁴ The Santali expression may also be translated 'he has become good, or well'; it is a play on words.

³⁵ The Santali expression lit. means make soft, semi-liquid, viz. in order to make fit for use.

We people who drink beer with sal-leaf cups of the same, pot are one and the same. Cows go to the flock of cows, and people to the flock of people. Nowhere are we able to remain by ourselves alone. Some people make an effort and remain alone over night, but it is out of helplessness. Also if somebody's cows get lost, and they meet with somebody else's cows, they will stay the night with those. And if they do not meet with any, they will naturally have to stay over night, but only with straining of every nerve. And you are a human being; you have taken shelter with us. Therefore you are a friend. Come, we shall give you a good sleeping-place. Then you will also some day speak of us, saying: In such and such a village I once entered the house of so and so. They are excellent splendid friends. Food they also gave me, and they gave me a place to sleep in, as if I were their near relative. If you should go away afterwards, will you not speak in this way? And in this world, my young friend, two kinds of people are given a name. On the one hand very good or very compassionate people, and on the other hand utterly wicked people or scoundrels. These two kinds of people are famed here in this world; and otherwise no one has any fame. And further, when the end comes, the word is reversed. In which way reversed? It is this way: good people are counted with what is bad, and bad people are counted with what is good. In cases as these it is said: if a good man finds himself in some fault, or in prison, or if he dies, then people say: What a pity! so and so was a splendid man; he is dead and thrown away. There you see, then, that good man was thrown away. And if some wicked one finds himself in such a case, or if he dies, then people say: Excellent, served him right³⁴; he is dead. He was such a one or such a one. There you see, then that wicked man was called good. And see, what kind of word is being voiced."

When she had got thus far, the old man called out: "What are you two soaking³⁵ out there? Will you not come in here? Then we shall also hear what it is about. Bring him in here; we shall talk together here."

Ado budhiye menketa, Dela babu, tobe note orakregele jagamea.

Ado eneye agukedea. Mit secre mitafi parkomreko jagakedea. Ado unre jat paris reakko kulikedea, ar uni hoe laiketa, ado ban mitlena. Ado ako motoreko amdajketa, jutokgea mente. Khange adoko thir barayena.

Ado tinre unkin budhi haramkin japitketa, khor khorkin uduref kana, un jokhen uni kuri do korā then heckate uni tuluce gitić mitena. Ado khange korā hō bae bataoleta. Menketae, Jokhon bakhra dakae hartawan kana, cedak ban joma? Jāhāe hor acak bakhra dakae emam khan seye metam khan, Ne, in khusitege inak dakan emam kana, ado reñgeć akame ghuri do, cekate hale bam joma? Ado onka uni korā do monrege ganḍon baraket khan do lotghutiye lagaoketa. Khange uni kuri do adiye khusiyena. Ar uni kuri do ac monre nonkae hudis pahilketa, Jemon nui korā do jāhā lekate ale thene tahen ar nuireko jāwāekañ. Ado marsalrege akin akin dokin nepel akana se ban? Unrege uni kuriak mon do gaḍao akan tahēkantaea. Monē monete doe menjoñ kan tahēkangea, Nenkan korareko jāwāeliñ khan doñ tahē goćkoķa. Ado bahuanic korā kanae seye ḍan-guagea, onako do bae onmanleta. Jāhā mon do gaḍaoen doe hoegea.

Ar nitre hō kuri hopon doko onkangea. Jāhā ac moneteye menket do, ona doe hoegea cahiye, enḍe ena mon do tirpitoktakoa. Ado onka leka nui kuri hō pahilkin nepelenrege mon do gaḍao akan tahēkantaea. Ado ona iate oneye jaegayen khan, uni kuri do lućuk lućuke aikauet tahēkana. Monē moneteye menet tahēkana, Tinre bako japit? Nui tuluc doñ lotghutigea. Ado onate one acak sana doe purauketgea.

Ar noa katha do sari kangea. Nitre hō kuri jokhen do jāhāe korā bes, nōķe nelok khan, kuri do akotege uni tuluc doko leao godoka, arko joć baraka, ar uni songeko rop siḍaṇa. Kuli

36 There is accordingly no hindrance to marriage, as far as septs are concerned.

"Come along, young man," the old woman said, "we shall give you a place to sleep in inside in the house."

Thereupon she brought him in. They gave him a bedstead to sleep on at one side. At that time they asked him about his tribe and sept, and he also told them; their septs were not the same³⁶. So they calculated between themselves that it would be suitable. Thereupon they all became quiet.

When the old people had fallen asleep and were loudly snoring, at that time the girl went over to the boy and lay down with him. And the boy did not restrain himself. He said to himself: 'When any one puts a share of his food before me, why should I not eat? If any one gives you a share of his rice, or he says to you: Here please, I am of my own accord and pleasure giving you my food, then, when you are feeling hungry, why should you not eat? When the boy had been pondering in this way, he had illicit intercourse with her, and the girl was very pleased. The girl had from the beginning thought in her heart: O, that this boy might somehow or other stay with us and be married to me! Now these two had seen each other whilst it was daylight, you see. At that time the girl's heart had become attached to the boy. She was thinking and saying to herself: If they would only marry me to such a boy, I should at once stay with him. Whether he already had a wife, or he was a bachelor, these matters she did not give a thought to. Whatever the mind fixes itself on, it will carry through.

Now-a-days also girls are of the same kind. Whatever a girl may decide in her mind, that she is sure to carry out; then only they are satisfied in their mind. In this way, when they first saw each other, the girl had got a strong impression. Therefore, when he had gone to bed, the girl was feeling excited. She was thinking in her mind When will they fall asleep? I shall enjoy myself with him. Thus she did what she wanted to.

Now this is a true thing. Also now-a-days, in the time of girl-hood, if some boy is looking fairly nice, the girls will on their account mate themselves with such a one and pair themselves

gotloako, Henda pera, okaren kanam am do? Okatem calak kana? Se, Okatem calak kan laialeme, pera. Nui ma bhala ror ho bae rora; band pane kopet akat band cet, 'bandoe guṅage. Nonka emanteakko ror siṇḍaṇa. Ado inatege koṛa doko baḍae goda, nui kuṛi do moṇ heḍae kana mente. Ar judi koṛa ho ona menaktae, khan, onka lekageye ror idia, onko tuluḍe beceṛoka. Ar bae moṇeak khan, sojhe sojheye ror ruṛatkoḡe. Kuṛikoak moṇ do oṇe onkana. Ar tire juge bhuṇjau lagaṭ moṇ un jokhen do baṇ tahentakoa. Eken onko do inā atkar barajoṇ lagaṭgetako moṇ do.

Ado onate nui kuṛi ho uni koṛa reak atkar sanakedete oṇeye purauketgea. Ado enka lotghuṭi barakate uni kuṛi do arho acaḡ parkomtēye calaoena. Ado iṇeko gitiḍ aṅgayen khan, budhi harām do khub lekakin beṇget barawae kana. Ado sanam hoṛge inā hara godok se juṇok takre do moṇjgebo ṇeloka. Kuṛi se koṛa inā jokhen do cehra begarokgea. Baṛiḍ hoṛ ho inā umerre do jutgeko ṇeloka. Ado onkage nui koṛa ho inā takre do khub ḡhoḡe ṇelok kana.

Khange joto hoṛko khusi utaṛena. Adoko menkeṭa, Ma nui gidra ghardi jāwāelaṇ doḡoaea. Ado onako niṭkette uni koṛa

³⁷ The story as told is perhaps not impossible; but I could not think that such behaviour should be common. The comments of the narrator may be taken for what they are worth. Nature is undoubtedly strong with them; on the other hand it is nature.

³⁸ To understand the following it is necessary to bear in mind one particular Santal custom in connexion with marriage. To put it bluntly, a Santal buys a wife and brings her home as his property; she belongs from marriage on to his family. When a Santal has only girls, he would ordinarily lose all his children when they are married, and would remain behind alone. To obviate this, and especially also to make it possible for girls to inherit land, they have introduced the system of ghardi jāwāe, house-son-in-law, as it might be translated. There are two varieties of such. One is that a man pays for his wife by working five years with his father-in-law, with liberty after that time to go elsewhere with his wife. Another is that the son-in-law pays for his wife in the same way (by putting in work), but with the understanding that he is to remain with his parents-in-law, inheriting their property, as if he were their son. This kind of ghardi jāwāe is now generally called ghar jāwāe,

with him, and they will speak to him to find some pretext. They will ask the boy something like this: "I say, friend, wherefrom are you? Where are you off to?", or, "Tell us where you are going, friend. This fellow, well, he does not even speak; perhaps he has his mouth full of betel-nut or whatever it may be, or perhaps he is dumb." In this way they speak this, that, and the other to provoke him. By this a boy will at once know that the mind of this girl comes out to him; and if the boy also is of the same mind, he will answer in similar way and keep the talk going with the girls. But if he does not care, he will give them a straightforward answer. Girls' mind is of such a nature. To get a mate with whom to spend life for ever and always, for such they have no mind at such times. They want experience³⁷.

This was what was in the mind of the girl, and when she had had her wish, she went back to her own bed. When they had passed the night and got up, the old man and woman were looking hard at the boy. Just when we reach maturity or are in our prime, at that time all of us look fine. Whether it is a girl or a boy, at that age the whole look is different. Even evil-favoured persons look well at that age. In this way this boy also was looking very comely at this time.

All of them became absolutely pleased, and they said: "Well, let us give our girl this boy for a husband³⁸." When they had decided this, they spoke to the young man that he should

an expression framed, I believe, by Settlement officials, and now commonly adopted by the Santals. It is in very common use, but must be done with the approval of the village community. In such cases the father of the bride pays all expenses in connexion with the marriage, and the bride is, as far as possible, acting as if she were the principal.

For further particulars the reader is referred to the writer's paper 'Some remarks on the Position of Women among the Santals', *Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society*, Sept. 1916. See also the introductory remarks pp. 221—227.

The young man of the story is to become a *ghardi jāwāe* (or, if one prefers, a *ghar jāwāe*). The Santal text has all along this (former) word.

jāhāte aloe calaka mēnteko metadea, Iā bābu, sēn botećkokam. Alom calaka; alegele dōhōmea. Arem calakre hō besge, mēnkhan daka jōm barakatēm calaka.

Ado uni korae mēnketa, Dohō ma dōhōngepe mēnet kan, ado cef leka dōhō ar cef leka dōrmaha, onakope laiaha, tōbē tho jut dōh aikāua, ār bānkhan jut dō ohō cōh aikāule.

Adokin metadea, Guti leka dō bān, ghārdi jāwāe lekaliñ mēneta. Gidra hōe ni eskargetaliña, onate amge nui kuřire ghārdi jāwāe dōhōmeliñ niť akata.

Ado uni korae mēnketa, Acha besge. Dēn bar pē hōř agukope, galmaraoabo. Ar ona reak cef leka lēg dustur kana, onakobo rapuda, enko hōřko añjomkaka. Inā dō jāhā hilok gohako purāua.

Ado uni hařame mēnketa, Onkoko aguko lagat iatege tho am dōh hapeam kana, ēn kathae, hape dakako jōm barakatēm calaka mēnte.

Adoe mēnketa, Acha, nit dōh bujketa, ado ohōñ calaka; do agukom.

Ado hōř agu uni hařam dōe calaoen khan, uni kuři dō korawak ruķa ar başla dō orakteye aderkettaea. Ado uni hařam dō ontege hōřko tuluć cefko cōko galmarao kan inaktege tikinen khan, dakako isinkette uni kōřa dō dakako emadea. Adoe jōm jirāu akan jōkhenge uni hařam dō turui hōre aguketkoa. Ado gořare parkom idikateko belketa, onareko duřupena. Khange buđhi dō uni korae metadea, Do onko gořareko duřup akan hōř am dō dōbōk barawakome.

³⁹ A marriage is, of course, a public affair in which Society or the community is concerned and must take part. The young man is cautious and thinks it necessary to have witnesses to the proposed settlement. A Santal will ordinarily act in this way.

⁴⁰ It is very common to let visitors sit down in the cow-shed, which is empty during day-time. Their cow-sheds are generally open to one or more sides, often all round. Here is shelter and air, and the state of the ground will not affect them; as a rule it is fairly dry. Bedsteads are taken here to sit down on.

not go anywhere: "I say, young man, you might perhaps go away. Don't go; we shall keep you here. Even if you go away, it is all right; but only when you have had food, you may go."

"Well," the boy replied, "you talk about keeping me; then how am I to be kept and at what wages, that you must tell me; then only I shall feel well; otherwise I shall not feel well at all."

The old couple then said to him: "Not as a servant, but as a husband for our girl we intend to keep you. This girl is the only child we have; we have therefore decided to keep you as a husband for this girl of ours."

"Very well," the boy replied, "that is all right. Please fetch two or three people: we shall talk the matter over. Then we shall settle what is usual and customary on such an occasion, and those people will hear it. Then they will some time, if necessary, be able to bear witness³⁹ to it."

The old man then said: "Why, it is just to be able to bring those people that I am telling you to wait, as I said, wait, when you have had food, you may go!"

"All right," the boy replied, "now I have understood it, and I shall certainly not go away. Please, fetch the people."

When the old man had gone to fetch people, the girl took the boy's chisel and adze and brought them into the house. Now it became noon, whilst the old man was talking about something or other with the people he had gone to, and they prepared food and gave it to the boy. Whilst he was resting after food, the old man came with six people. They took some bedsteads out and placed them in the cow-shed⁴⁰, and they sat down there. The old woman then said to the boy: "You go and salute those who are sitting in the cow-shed." •

and the conversation may go on without disturbing, or being disturbed by, the routine of the household.

Ađo sari senkateye dōbōkatkoa. Inakateko metadea, Ma bābu, thamakur benaoletabonme, jomabo.

Ađo uni korae menketa, Thamakur cunge tho, baba, banuktiñ.

Ađo miť hore menketa, Neñ emok kana, benaokate emabonme.

Ađo sariye atanketeye benaoketa, adge em barawatkoa. Ađo unreko beñget barawade khan, miť hōr doe rōr gotketa, Nūkūi cōñ khub korā kanae. Nui kūrī gidratikin dō khubkin jurika; boeha lekako metakina.

Ađo miť hore menketa, Henda bābu, am dō celeama ar amren baba dō celeaea?

Ađo uni korā onako tināk kathae kulikedeā, ťhik ťhik onako jōtō katha reak rōr ruare emadea. Arhōe kulikedeā, Henda bābu, bāhu akawatmeako se bañ? Ar cekate nun sañgiñ dōm hec akana?

Ađo korae menketa, Bako bāhu akawadiña, dañguageañ. Ar orakregele ropor baralena, ona karontege in dō usať in ođok calak kana. Onatege nun sañgiñ disom dōñ hec akana.

Henda bābu, ađo usať rareclentam khan, orakte dōm ruara se bañ?

Ađge menketa, Jāhāre kisāř in nam ťhikleko khan, orakte dō bañ ruara, ar bañ namleko khan dōñ ruarge cōñ, purā dō ohōñ men dāřlea.

Ađo bābu, noakore kisāřle sapam khan dōm tahēkoka se ohō?

Ađge menketa, Suk in namle khan, ekkalte jonōm kal in tahē utarkoka.

⁴¹ Santals do not ordinarily smoke tobacco; those who do so have learnt it from the Hindus. (Cf. p. 50, note 11.)

⁴² They ask for tobacco to get an opportunity of having a good look at the young man. It is customary to make use of dodges of this nature when they want to 'inspect' a person without making him (or her) embarrassed. Of course, all know what is going on.

⁴³ It might be noted that here and in the following the village people called in act on behalf of the old man. The responsibility is put on others, who cannot be called to account.

He then really went and saluted them. When this had been done, they said to him: "Please, young man, prepare some tobacco⁴¹ for us; let us take a pinch."

The boy replied: "Tobacco and lime, sirs, I have none."

Then one of them said: "Here, I am giving tobacco; prepare it and give to us all."

The boy then received the leaf, prepared it and gave them. Whilst he was doing this, they were looking well⁴² at him, whereupon one of them said⁴³: "This one is a strapping young man. The girl and this boy will be exceedingly well matched; people will say they are like brother and sister."

Then another said: "Look here, young man, what is your name and what is the name of your father?"

The boy gave correct answers to everything he asked him about. Then again the man asked him: "Look here, young man, have they given you⁴⁴ a wife or not? And how is it that you have come so far away from home?"

"They have not given me a wife," the boy answered, "I am a bachelor. We had some altercation at home, therefore I am out of temper and am going away. That is the reason why I have come to a country so far away."

"Look here, young man, when your temper cools down, will you go home again or not?"

"If I can find a master to serve somewhere," the boy replied, "I shall not return home; but if I do not find such a one, I may perhaps go home again; I cannot say that for certain."

"Then, young man, if we get you a master to serve hereabouts, would you stay or would you not?"

"If I find happiness and ease," the boy replied, "I should immediately stay on for all time."

⁴⁴ The form of the question is due to the way in which a regular Santal marriage is brought about. Ordinarily the father, or somebody representing a father, procures a wife for a son; it is not his choice.

Ado inakkate khangé uni khamid haramko kulikedeá, Cele baba phalna, desé bhala lailetam, cetko lagat ale dom dela aguketle do. Ado am then khon arañ bale anjómle khan, jáhānak do cekatele men oco dareaka?

Ado uniye menketa, Katha do noa kana. Nui peṛa koṛae okateye calaka ar tinaḳe dāṛā baṛaea? Ado jāwāe gomkeye lekañ meneta. Gidra hōe miṭ goṭen eskargetiña, ado uni gidraḡe ghārdi jāwāe doḡḡae in meneta. Nui koṛaḡēñ ṇel ṭhike kana.

Khange onko ato hoṛko menketa, Oṭe, babu, amge, kathae, ghārdi jāwāe doḡḡomeko meneta. Khusikokam se oḡḡa? Masḡ ona katha khulāsate laialeme. Ar ale bujre do besgele metak kana. Am hō kisāṛgeyem nam baṛayetkōa. Ado cak guti lekam tahena? Ekkalte amgele tala oṛakkam kana.

Ado uni koṛae menketa, Toḡe baba ape mōṛē hoṛ, bogepe metak kan khan, in hō khusige. Ado jāhā hilok agoṛ digoroḳ khan, ape ato hoṛtege bape ṇelkatina? Ar inren engañ apuñ do tin jojonre coñ. Ado un jokhen onḡe tho oḡḡoñ senlena. Ape ato hoṛgeñ rakapea nit oka kathaḳ kana. Ado tayom hilok ona bañ purauḳ khange tho roṛ do janamoka, ar bañkhan kisāṛ reak bam roṛ baṛae.

Ado oṛko mōṛē hoṛko menketa, Albṛt un jokhen do ṇeṇeltege hoeyoktalea. Amren enḡa apa dole ale kangea.

Ado uni koṛae menketa, Toḡe baba, inren oaris dope ape kangea. Ado onḡekhan ghārdi jāwāe reak cetko leg dustur kana,

⁴⁵ Tala is in Santali in expressions similar to the one here made use of employed to signify, 'belonging to'.

⁴⁶ Note the way of addressing. 'The Five' represent the community-in-Council, if such an expression can be used. Mōṛē hoṛ (lit. the five men, or, Santals) corresponds to what in Hindi is called panchayat, a village council, or a court of arbiters, as the name would show, properly of five members. Whether the institution has been originally borrowed by the Santals or not, it is working on Santal lines. The headman is the natural president and must be present, or represented. Any male Santal, belonging to the village, may be present and speak. There is no voting properly speaking; but they will generally do what they consider to be the sense of those assembled. The headman, if he is any-

When they had got thus far they asked the old master of the household: "Well, sir, now please tell us what is the matter that you have brought us here for. If we do not hear anything from you, how shall we be able to get anything said?"

"The thing is this," the man said; "this young friend — where is he to go, and how much is he to wander about? I am thinking something about making him my son-in-law. I have only one child, and I am thinking of giving this child of mine a husband. This boy seems to me to be exactly suitable."

"Listen, young man," the village people then said; "they are thinking of keeping you, as you hear, as a son-in-law. Would you be pleased at that or not? Please tell us freely what you think of it. In our opinion we say it is excellent. You are seeking a master to serve. Why should you remain as a servant? We are placing you at once in the middle of the house⁴⁵."

The boy then said: "Then, my fathers village-Five⁴⁶, when you say it is good, I am also satisfied. Then if, some future day, there should come any hitch, will not you village people look into the matter for me? My parents are so very far away; at such a time I should not be able to go there, you see. I shall put my case before you village people in connexion with what we are now arranging. If some time or other in the future it should not go well, then the matter will come up; otherwise you will not speak about your master."

The village Five then said: "Of course, on such an occasion it will be our duty to look into the matter. Your father and mother are we."

The boy then said: "Consequently, my fathers, you are my helpers to stand up for me. Then let us see what is usual and

thing of a personality, will generally make his will prevail. On the whole it is a very well-working institution, that might with advantage be much more used than it is at present. A Santal will, as a rule, not think of defying the council of his own village. He would, if he did so, not be able to stay there long.

onabq hēla. Ar un, jōkhen sedae mare hapramko ceť lekako katha akata, inakobo galmaraoakaka. Ar ceťko un jōkhenko kamia, inakobon kamikaka. Do, adq bēgege. Nit dō in hōñ gokeť khan dō nukin buđhi hařam řuriñ řsul goćkin dhābić dō inak chuťi dō banukan.

Adoko meñketa, Hēge, řabu, acha katha bachaokatem rořketa. Onako dō katha kangea, baña mente dō bañ. Katha kangea. Nui kořawak katha dō mucatena, ar in hābićgeko kathaea. Oñe coñ, acēgege gujuk gurok hābić reake kathakeť. Adq deře bhala, am khamid hōř le kuliyetmea, ře aben hařam buđhigele kuliyetbena, noa jōkhen ceťko lagaoka, ona dōben emoka ře bañ?

Adokin meñketa, Jōkhon etak hořonliñ apnarede kana, adq cedak baliñ emoka? Nit dō emoktege hocoka.

Adq uni buđhiye meñketa, Ceťkoliñ emoka? Oñe coñ joto orak duar, ghōř korna, cij řasut, jotoliñ jimawae kan. Adq ceťliñ emaea? Aliñ dō miť lapet daka ar miť bita bōřtor, inā khajukkin emaliñ. Ināte khajuk alokin kořtoliñ. Ināge tho aliñak reñgeć dō, jemon jivet bhor suktekin dōholiñ, ar goćlen gurlen hilokkin gaya gañgakaliñ, ināge. Ar noako cij řasut dō řakinakge. Nōkōe coñ jotoliñ soprotakin kan. Adq ceťliñ emaea?

⁴⁷ It might be noted that the idea of the Santals when taking a man as a son-in-law, as here described, is to make sure of support, when they cannot work any longer. The idea of succession does not come in, properly speaking.

⁴⁸ The Santali expression gaya gañga (also gañga gaya) most probably has reference to the Ganges and to Gaya (Hindu śraddha performed here sends the soul of the departed to the paradise of Vishnu, it is said, and the ashes of the dead bodies are thrown into the Ganges); but it must not here be taken to mean anything more than what is translated. The Santals take the bones of their dead ones to the Damuda river, and the funeral ceremonies are, except for this, all performed at home. The expression may likely be taken as a testimony that the Santals have adopted much in connexion with their rites and ceremonies from the Hindus. As a matter of fact, the Santal traditions explicitly mention that their ancestors, at a certain specified time, decided to give up certain old customs and adopt new ones. Among the customs given up.

customary when one becomes the son-in-law and comes to live with his wife's father. Let us discuss what our ancestors of old have ordained for such occasions. What people do at such a time, let us do exactly that. Please do so, and it is well. As I have now taken this upon myself, there will be no release for me, until I shall have supported⁴⁷ this old couple as long as life lasts."

"Yes, that's it, young man," they said; "you have chosen your words well in speaking. That is the real thing, there is no gain-saying that. That is what there is to it. Now the matter of this boy has come to an end; it is as much as people have to say. We have heard it, he has himself mentioned everything, right up to death and decease. Then now, you master of the house, we are asking you, or rather, we are asking you both, husband and wife, whether you two will give the things that are due on this occasion, or not?"

They answered: "When we are making somebody else's son our own, why should we not give? Now we are bound to give."

"What shall we have to give?" the old woman asked; "you see, the whole house and possessions, household chattels, goods and property, everything we are giving into his charge. What more are we to give him? Provided those two will give us a mouthful of food and a span of clothes, only this much. Provided they will not let us suffer hardships in connexion with this. That is what we two are in need of. That these two, so long as life lasts, will keep us comfortable and happy, and, when we shall die and fall away, that they will then perform the last rites with our bodies⁴⁸, that is all. And all these goods and chattels belong to these two. You see, here we are giving everything over to them. Then what more are we to give?"

⁴⁷ was the burial of the dead, in stead of which they adopted cremation, following the Hindus.

Ado ato horko menketa, Noako tinak katham ror aguketa, noako do asol katha kangea, auri do ban kana, ar dusau lek ho ban kana. Ar abo enga apa ma kami ban calakte, se horte khatu iate, se gidrakoren pera bako lagaok karonte ghardi jawae doko dghokoa. Abo do aasanoka mentebon mena. Ado pasec aboren kuiri gidra bae khusik, ar pasec nui tuluc bae ror, bakin bonotok, tobe khan cekate nui jawae doe tahē dareaka? Eneye dar ketge. Ado nahakge tho aboren gidra kuiri doe khotkadea, bhalo name durkadea. Ona iate uniak mon ropha do emoktege hoeoka. Ado kuiri nui tuluc bae tulujok khan, en hilok do ina sapkateye senjoña.

Ado budhiye menketa, Tobe baba ape morē hor, in do ban badae kana. Ape then in kulijon kana, noa kuli jugren kulijon kana, cetko lagaoka laianpe. In don meneta, alin enga apatelin rghokeae kana. Alinak katha do janić qhqe nehottaliña.

Ado onko morē horko menketa, Ona ma hē kangea. Abo ma besoka mentegebon meneta. Pase bakin jutok. Nāhāk do disom huti cayayena, enga apawak ror ban tahēna. Onē lagrē sereñ sikte ma: Lok hoelo catur, muluk hoelo phatur, dekho he raja Dasarāt; ghore ghore tikis joma lagilo, dekho he raja Dasarāt. Ado ona sik katha nitkate do abo khon gidrage barti

⁴⁹ People with girls are not supposed to seek husbands for them; they are to be sought by other people, who have sons. The initiative must come from the male side. This does not preclude hints from the party with girls.

⁵⁰ It is customary what is here demanded. When a man becomes a ghardi jawae, a calf is shown to him, i. e., is given him at the time of marriage; the reason for this act is as here stated, whatever it may have originally been. It is a fact that the parties generally know very little of each other, and the possibility of their not being able to hit it off with one another is always to be taken into account.

⁵¹ The Santali expression kuli jug (asking age) is likely meant as a play on kali jug (the Kali age, the fourth age of the Hindus), often heard mentioned.

⁵² Lit. translated.

⁵³ A rather drastic description. The weevils (in Santali huti) are larvae of sorts that eat and destroy timber and foodstuffs, always present in the country and causing much damage. The caya is an unpleasantly stinking bug, also very common.

The village people then said: "All that you have mentioned is to the point; there is nothing irrelevant. There is nothing to blame either. And when work does not go any longer for us who are parents, or when we are short-handed, or when no friends come for the children⁴⁹, then for such reasons people take in sons-in-law to live in their homes. We think we are going to get relief. Then perhaps our girl is not pleased, and perhaps she will not talk with him, perhaps they will not pull together, then how will this son-in-law be able to remain? You see, he would run away. Then without cause our girl would cast a slur on the man; she would take his good name away from him. Therefore you will have to give him something to make his mind content and quiet⁵⁰. If the girl should not hit it off with her husband, that day he may take this and go his way."

The old woman then said: "Then, sirs, you Five, I do not know. I am asking you, in this asking⁵¹ age I am asking, tell me what are the dues? I myself mean that we, the mother and father of the girl, are planting⁵² him. Likely he will not transgress our word."

The Five then answered: "That is quite so. We of course mean that all will be well. But perhaps they will not hit it off. Now-a-days the land has been damaged by weevils and made stinking by bugs⁵³; the word of parents is disregarded. Just as it is in a *lagrē* song: The village people have become clever, the country has become upset: look out, O king Dasarāt! In every house rent notice is fixed: look out, O king Dasarāt!⁵⁴ And corresponding to this, now-a-days the children are sharper than we are. If they bring you to silence on one

⁵⁴ The *lagrē* verse is in a kind of Bengali. It might be remarked that, whilst *phatur* in Bengali means weak, infirm, &c., the word is here used in a meaning found in Hindi. Dasarāt is the father of Rama. I have been told by Santals that this verse dates from a time shortly after the Santal rebellion (1855). If that is so, one might think that somebody has assisted in producing this verse. The last words refer to the agricultural land being assessed. It seems strange

doko calaka. Okatāk cōn mīṭ kathae eṣetlem khan, qhōm rōr ruar darelea. Onate nitre katha dō chīṇḍau idikakge bogea. Inā dō tayomre bako rōr dareaka. Katha reak dōg dō huleḷ idikakge ṭhika.

Ado buḍhṭye mēnketa, Acha besge. Ma tōḃe uni gidra kuṛibo kulikaea nināk hōr samañre, khusik kana seye bañ, ar nui jāwāeye khusiae kana se bañ. Ma ape mōrē hōrge kuliyetabonpe.

Adoko mēnketa, Ṭhik, niā dōle pātiāuena. Ma uni kuṛi gidra hōhgaepe.

Ado sārīko hōhō āgukedea. Heḷenae. Adoko metadea, Ma māi, duṛupme, mīṭ kathale kulime lagat.

Ado duṛupenteye mēnketa, Cet katha kana, baba? Ma kuliñpe.

Ado mōrē hōrko mēnketa, Katha dō noa kana, māi. Amren ayo babate, se ale mōrē hōrte, ghārdi jāwāele dōhōam kana, nui koṛage. Adom khusik kana se bañ, ar nui koṛam khusiae kana se bañ? Ado amāk monre khub leka bujhau kandhaokate laialeme. Nitrege joto lai cabawaleme, jemon tayomte alo dīdhi baḍhiktabon.

Ado mēnketa, Qhō jāniḷ dīdhi baḍhika, baba. Inren eñgañ apuñ se ape mōrē hōrte nel ṭhikkatege jāniḷpe dōhōaṇ kana. Ado apepe khusiyen khan, in hō jāniḷ khusige. Ado apasula mentegē jāniḷpe juri pārikaliñ kana; ado in hōñ khusigea. Ado mīṭ katha, baba, ape inōrē hōr samañre ar inren eñgañ apuñ samañre mīṭ kathañ rōrkak kana.

Adoko mēnketa, Mōrē goṭen rōrme.

Ado baba, katha dō noa kana. Dōhō mape dōhōaṇ kange, ar in hō nui then tahenteliñ mīṭ monokgea. Ado koto nāhi kam kaj menaktabona, ruā haso menaktabona, neao jhogoṛ menak-

that a foreign language should be used to express such thoughts. On the other hand it is of a very common occurrence that Santals, both men and women, make verses, sung to tunes of their own, describing or criticizing contemporary and local events. It apparently causes them no trouble to produce them.

⁵⁵ The responsibility is to be with others.

⁵⁶ A common way of saying that one is at liberty to speak. It is especially made use of by people in authority, just like here.

point, whatever it may be, you will not be able to answer. Therefore it is better to settle everything now at present. Then they will not be able to say anything about that afterwards. It is good to break off the buds of words as they come out."

The old woman then said: "All right, that is good. Let us then, please, ask the girl in the presence of so many people whether she is pleased or not, and whether she is pleased with this man for a husband or not. You Five please ask her for us."

"Excellent," they said; "we believe in that. Please call the girl."

So they called the girl out. She came, and they said to her: "Please, my girl, sit down. We are going to ask you one question."

She then sat down and said: "What matter is it, my fathers? Please ask me."

The Five then said: "The matter is this, my girl: Your father and mother, or we village people are arranging to give you a husband to remain with your parents, namely this young man. Are you pleased or not at this? and are you pleased with this young man or not? Think it over and consider it well in your mind and tell us. Tell us everything there may be now at the present time, that the matter may not afterwards get out of order and be spoilt for us."

"Oh no, likely not," the girl replied; "it is not likely to get out of gear, my fathers. My father and mother, or you Five have likely seen to it that all is right, as you are giving him to me for a husband. When you are pleased, then, likely, I am also pleased⁵⁵. Likely it is in order that we shall live together and support each other, that you mate us as husband and wife. Then I am also pleased. Then there is one word, my fathers. In the presence of you Five and in the presence of my father and mother there is one word I have to speak."

"Speak five⁵⁶," they said.

"This is what I have to say, my fathers. To be sure, you are giving me a husband, and we are of one mind as to my staying with him. Now all of us have our work to do, we suffer from fever and pain, we have quarrels and disputes. Now perhaps, on

tabona. Ado kam kaj karonte, se daka utu karonte, se cet karonte coñ, paseñliñ roporenge, ar pasene usaenge are oðok calaoenge. Ado baba, un jokhen do okareñ pañjaye? Oṛak duar ma bañ ñel akattae, ado okareñ pañja seterea? Onage muskiltet in metak kana. Ado cet leka abo hõ jãhã khon bahukobon aguyetkoa, ado usatkateko ðaṛle khan, engat apat oṛakrebon pañja seterkako kana — ado baba, nui do okareñ pañja seterea? Ona reak hõr udukañpe.

Ado joto hõrko menketa, Nui gidra ðhikgeye meneta. Ina do sarige, aboak bhul kami kantabona.

Ado miñ hore men goṭketa, Acha, onate hõ bañ cekaka. Aika lai godme tinre usaṭe calaka. Un jokhen am do ruarem, ar judi bae ruar khan, saṭ mente lai goṭaleme. Un jokhen koṛakole dhuraṅkoa, khubbon thayã ocoyea. Ar inate bae ruar khan, onkogebon metakoa, Do pañja seterkaepe.

Ado kuṛiye menketa, Tobe katha doñ mucaṭketa.

Ado moṛẽ hõrko menketa, Joto katha doḃon khudaṃ mucaṭketa, ar joto ghõr kornabon jimawakin kana. Judi arhõ koṛa gidrakõ taheñ khan do, miñ bigha jumibon udukkeṭa sebon lebet acurkea. Se leka ma kathage banuktabon. Tobe khan mon ropha den miṭṭaṅ gai udukaeben. Uni hõ nit do aperengeye taheña. Ado judi nit se jãhã hilok nui jãwãe bape khusiaea sepe laga todea, ado en hilok moṛẽ hõre rakalea. Ado unre galmaraokate ape

57 She speaks as if she were a man. A Santal wife is not expected to trace her husband.

58 The village community promises to assist, while she is exhorted to do all she can herself, before applying to them. All talk about kicking, &c., is not here to be taken at its face-value. Santals do not resort to such drastic measures in cases like the one here supposed. When a man has forcibly applied sindur to the forehead of an unmarried girl (thereby making her his wife), they will use violence, otherwise not.

59 If there is a son, he is the proper heir. Santals arrange with ghãrdi jãwãe, also when there are sons, but only when the girls are grown up and the sons very small, the object being to get help to work. In such cases they may give the son-in-law a small plot of land. It is often done, but is not obligatory. The bigha is the common unit for land-measure, in these parts 80 cubits (120 ft.) square, about one third of an acre.

account of the work, or on account of the food, or for some cause or other, whatever it may be, perhaps we two may some day have words together, and perhaps he may become sulky and dissatisfied and then walk away. If such things should happen, my fathers, where shall I then try to find him⁵⁷? I have not seen his house and home, so where shall I be able to follow him? That is what I call the difficulty. You see, when we bring a bride from somewhere or other, and she runs away in the sulks, then we follow after her to her parents' house, — but this one, my fathers, where am I to follow him home? Show me the way there."

"This child is speaking right," they all of them said. "That is true; that is our mistake."

Then one man said: "All right, it does not matter. But mind, tell at once when he becomes sulky and takes himself off. At such a time bring him back yourself, and if he will not come back, tell us immediately⁵⁸. Then we shall call out the boys; we shall let him get a good kicking. And if he will not return with this, we shall order them: do, follow after him to his home."

"Then I have nothing more to say," the girl said.

Thereupon the Five said: "We have followed everything up to the end, and we are giving these two charge of all the household goods. Now if there had been sons also, we should have pointed out⁵⁹ one big ha of rice-land, or we should have walked round it⁶⁰. We have nothing to do with anything like this here. Therefore you two old people show him a cow, please, to keep his mind at ease⁶¹. He also will now be yours. But if now or some day in the future you should not be pleased with your son-in-law, or you should drive him away, then he will apply to us, the Five. If we, on such an occasion, after having talked the matter over, should find fault with you, he will drive this cow

⁶⁰ The Santal way of pointing out land. They walk round the boundaries, noting any natural objects that may serve as landmarks.

⁶¹ See above note 50. At such a marriage a 'calf' is also 'shown' to the bride, as a general rule.

senge dosle namle khan, ini gai sotokkateye senjona. Ar bestepe dophoye khan mae aperen kange. Ado ma cetben meneta? Ar bankhan den udukaeben, ale mōrē horle űelkaka.

Ado harame menketa, Acha, mon ropha doliű emaegea, ape mōrē hor lagaete bon űela. Ado ina chaḁa ar cetkō katha menaktabona? Niḁ duruprege joto katha doḁon macoṭ utarkaka.

Ado mōrē horko menketa, Katha do noa kana. Judi kulān menak khan, mabon bapla utarkakina; ar kulān banuk khan, nenḁa gonḁakama. Ona hō bochor din se mahnā din do baű jutoka, niḁ dos baro din se hapta din, in dinge jutoka.

Khange harām buḁhikin cepet barayentekin menketa, Ma niḁ sat dinliű nenḁayeta. Ma inre niḁ phalna din hilok bon bapla-kakina. Ape hō en hilok do alope okakotektabona.

Ado mōrē horko menketa, Baḁu kicrić, sara ḁaḁri, sindur, ḁaurā, tetre kuṛi — noako do amge lagaoama. Ar maraű baplam nam khan do, ḁomko hō jaruḁgea.

Ado banar harām buḁhitekin menketa, Hē, unak doḁon ikakaka.

⁶² As remarked above, at a gḁardl-jāwāe-marriage all expenses are borne by the bride's father. All dues and customary outlays, ordinarily paid, or paid for, by the bridegroom, are met by the bride's father. The things here mentioned are not all the dues. Baḁu kicrić (also, and commonly, called sindur kicrić) is a plain piece of cloth, ten to eleven cubits (about 5 m.) long. For use at the present occasion it is steeped in a solution of turmeric and made yellow. The bride is clothed in this just before the sindraḁan, the binding act, when the bridegroom applies sindur, the red-lead, to the forehead of the bride. Hence the name sindur kicrić.

⁶³ The sara ḁaḁri (ḁaḁri means head-cloth or turban, sara is another form for saḁ, wife's brother, found in some Hindi dialects and adopted by the Santals for use in this term; it is one of the words that may be of help in showing where the Santals' ancestors have been) is a plain piece of cloth, five cubits long (2.5 m.), also coloured yellow for the occasion. Just before the sindraḁan the bridegroom puts this cloth on the head of the bride's younger brother. Both are during the act riding on the shoulder (not on the neck) of the husband of an elder sister (or some corresponding relation, if there are none such).

in front of him and go his way. And if you keep him well, he is, of course, yours. Well then, what have you to say? Otherwise, please point her out to him; we Five shall see it done."

"All right," the old man said, "we shall give him heart-content; we shall together with you Five look to that. Besides this, is there then anything else for us to do? We shall finish and settle everything whilst we are sitting here now."

The Five then said: "The matter is this: if you are sufficiently prepared, let us marry the two and have done with it; and if you are not prepared, a time shall be fixed for you. But as to that, in a year's time or in a month's time, that will not do; ten or twelve days, or a week's time, such a time will do."

The old man and woman consulted together and thereupon said: "We fix the day for to-day seven days. Then on such and such a day we shall marry them. You also please do not go anywhere on that day."

The Five then said: "The bridal cloth⁶², the brother-in-law's head-cloth⁶³, sindur, the flat bottomed basket⁶⁴, the anointing girls⁶⁵ — all this you will have to provide. And if you want a big marriage festival, Doms⁶⁶ will also be necessary."

Then the old man and the old woman both of them said: "O well, that much we shall leave out".

⁶⁴ Among the many kinds of baskets found with the Santals, there is one called *bāhu tul dāurā*, bride-lifting basket. It is a wide, flat-bottomed bamboo basket with low sides. Sitting in this, the bride is lifted shoulder high by the bridegroom's followers and is carried opposite to the bridegroom, who is riding on the shoulder of the *babrā kora* (lit. brahmin boy, his elder sister's husband; see preceding note). While they are both up in the air, the bridegroom, with his right-hand little-finger, five times puts sindur on the top of the girl's forehead.

⁶⁵ The anointing girls are girls from the village of the bride, called *tetre kūrī*, because their special work is to anoint, or rather rub in (from *tere*), especially bride and bridegroom, with oil and turmeric.

⁶⁶ See p. 128, note 12.

Ado mōrē hōrko mēnketa, Cele ado cetko katha menaktabona se bañ? Menak khañ, ma niā takre ror godpe, ar bañkhan delabon.

Ado miť hore mēn gotketa, In miťtañ huđiñ huđiñ kathañ disa. akata, ado onage bañdoñ ror bañdo bañ.

Adoko metadea, Disaket khanem, ma rorme.

Ado mēnketa, Acha, tobe añjomkatiñpe. Katha do noa kana. Enanrebo heć akana; kam kajbon bagiatte nuiakge joto kotebon kamiketa. Ado niā mañjan mañdi do bae emabona? Setakreye aguketbonte in do baske mocage menaña.

Adoko mēnketa, Joto hōr enkage. One con miť dhaotege joto hore agu akatbon.

Khange uni kuři do dak ar datāunikoe aguatkōa. Ado abuk bōloyente dakako ematkōa. Daka jom ođokkate thamakurko beknao kan jōkhenge mōrē sika poesae ematkōa, ado eñeko beret barayena. Ado oñeko batlao bara ođoade, onakoe jurauketa, ar bhōjko lagat hōe tearketa.

Ado ona neñda din tioken khan, setakre jog mañjhi țhene calaoena; uni ar mañjhi paranik ar atoren miť bar hore hōho

⁶⁷ The matter now mentioned is not, of course, something suddenly remembered; some one has to mention the matter, and it is done in this way. When the Five work as arbiters, they generally demand five sika (Re. 1—4—0) from each side, or the double. This money was formerly spent in buying a goat, a pig or something that was divided and taken home for consumption. Now-a-days they mostly go to a liquor shop and spend it there. In cases like the present, when only comparatively few have met and the people are fairly well-to-do, they are often invited to take a meal.

⁶⁸ Before sitting down to eat they always wash their hands and rinse their mouths. When there are guests, a loťa (or a cup) with water is given to them successively; tñey take this, go to the border of the court-yard or to the nearest vicinity and wash. This is an intimation that they are to sit down to eat. As they always eat with the (right) hand, this ablution is necessary. If needed, the feet are also washed. Besides with water, the guests are here also provided with tooth-brushes. The Santals are very careful with their teeth. They brush them with a twig of the sal (*Shorea robusta*, Gaertn.). The twig is chewed at one end, until it becomes like a brush; this is then used, and the mouth is

The Five then said: "Well then, what else have we to talk about, or how? If there is anything, then please say it at once now at this time; otherwise, come, let us be off."

. One of them then said: "There is one very small matter that has occurred to me⁶⁷; but then, whether I shall mention it or not, I am not sure."

"If you have come to think of something," they said to him, "out with it."

"All right," he said, "then listen to me. It is this: we came some little while ago; we left our own work and have all of us attended to the business of this man. Will he not then give us this mid-day meal? He brought us here in the morning, and I for my part have a mouth for breakfast."

"It is the same with all of us," they said. "As we know, he brought us all here at the same time."

The girl then brought them water and tooth-brush-twigs⁶⁸. They washed their hands and mouth and went in, whereupon they gave them food. After they had finished eating and had come out, while they were preparing tobacco for chewing, the old man gave them five four-annas in cash⁶⁹, whereupon they rose and went their several ways. What they instructed him about before they went, all that he provided; he also made preparations for a feast.

When the fixed day arrived, he went in the morning to the headman of the village morals⁷⁰; he called on him, on the village

finally rinsed with water. The sal contains some resin that may be of assistance in cleaning. The Santals get accustomed to this tooth-brush from childhood on; they all look upon the use of it as a necessity; one might say it has become an instinct with them. This tooth-brush (*daṭauni* as it is called) is used the first thing in the morning, many refusing even to drink water until they have cleaned their teeth and mouth in this way. If thought necessary, the cleaning may be repeated before a meal.

⁶⁹ See above note 67.

⁷⁰ A Santal village has five officials, viz., (1) headman (*mañjhi*), (2) his deputy (called *paranik*), (3) headman of morals (called *jog mañjhi*), (4) his deputy

aguketkoa. Ado han̄diye ematkoteye galmaraoatkoa, bañma, Teheñ dō alope okateka; nukin gidrābo baplakakina. Atoren joto guni guribge laiakotabonpe, niā tikin okte jemōn joto hōr nōṇḍe in̄ thenbo jarwak.

Ado jog mañjhiko dhuraṇkadea, Ma ya, jog mañjhi, tōbe inā okte dō joto hōr lai barawabonme. Ar tetre kūrī dō nitrege nam agukakome, jemōnko kāmī goṛo hatarako.

Ado uniye menketa, Acha besge, katha bajaoen khan, onako dōñ kāmīa.

Ado kurikoe nam aguketkoa. Ar uni mañjhi dō bako hec ocoadea, oṇḍegeye tahēyena, bud batlao barawako kanae; ar daka hō oṇḍegeko emadea. Ado tikin khangē jog mañjhi dō atoren hōre rak jarwaketkoa. Ado sunum sasañ oṇḍok barakate ar han̄diko nū barakate adoko itut sindurkatkina. Ar baḍhiako gurlede tahēkara. Bhojketako. Miṭ nindaḱo eṇēketā, ar bhoj hōko jomketa. Ar setak jokhen uni jāwāe koṛa miṭṭaṇ gaiko udukadea. Ado eṇeko apan apinena. Cabayena.

Ado taheṇ taheṇte uni jāwāe koṛa dō cet hō bae kāmīa; oṇte noteye tap̄ baraagea; huni nui then ekene ajare barajōngea, ar daka jom ghurī dōe hecenge. Ado miṭ cando din onkageye ayak baraea.

Khangē uni kuriren apat haṛam dō bebārice edrena. Menae, Cele kurhiā jāwāe cōñ jāwāe gomkekede? Kāmī usasoka menteñ menleṭ khan, okor eṇgateye usasediñ kana? Uh! nahakge eṇgate bon dōhokede. Ado oraḱre se hōrko then hō onkae roṛ baraea.

(called jog paranik), (5) the headman's messenger (called goḍet). Besides these there are the naeke, the village priest, and the kuḍam naeke, who worships certain bongas, when the naeke sacrifices to the national bongas or spirits. The 'headman of morals' here mentioned is the village custos morum, supposed to be responsible for the good behaviour of the young people of the village, and the one to take action if anything has happened. The jog mañjhi is the ceremonial leader at the name-giving festival (janam chaṭiṛ), at the festival when a Santal is given full tribal rights (caco chaṭiṛ) and at marriages. He is also the leader at certain other festivals, when young people come together. The traditions tell that, in former days, the jog mañjhi was looking

headman and his deputy and on a couple of the village people and brought them along. He then gave them some beer and spoke to them: "Do not go anywhere to-day; we shall marry these two children. Tell all we have in the village, poor and indigent, that to-day at noon we shall all come together here with me."

Thereupon they set the headman of morals to work: "Please, you headman of morals, tell all of us at that time. But fetch, now at once, the anointing girls, that they may help here in the work."

"All right," he replied; "as the matter has been told, I shall do this."

He then brought those girls. The headman they would not let come away; he stayed on there, giving them advice and instruction; they gave him his food also there. When it became noon, the headman of morals called the village people together. Having got through the anointing with oil and turmeric and having had some beer to drink, they had them perform the ceremony of applying sindur. They had killed a hog and had a feast. They danced the whole night and feasted. And in the morning they showed the bridegroom a cow. Thereupon they dispersed to their several homes. The whole was over.

Now as the time passed, this son-in-law did not do any work; he was always slipping through hither and thither; he did nothing else than to go to some one or other to gossip; but when the time for food came, he was always coming. About one whole month he was skulking in this way.

Then the old man, the father of the girl, became awfully angry and was saying: "What kind of a lazy fellow is it I have made my son-in-law? Whilst I thought I should get some relief in my work, how is he, dash it, giving me any relief? Oh dear, it is to no purpose, dash it, that we have taken this one to be with us." In this way he was talking at home and also before other people.

after his work in a proper way; now-a-days he is perhaps often the opposite of what he ought to be. He is generally fully aware of all intrigues going on, the young people keeping him informed.

Ado atoren erveltet korako doko metaea, Henda ho, am do cet hõ bam kami barae do? Nahakgele dho akatmea.

Adge metakoa, Noa ulpha dinre do este cet in kamia? Dak din tioklen nahi tohi sioka. Netar doko sia? Netar ma bako siok.

Adoko metaea, Jähäkore katka kotko hasako do bam laea?

Adge metakoa, Okakore con khët hõ menak, ban nel akat khan okaren laea?

Adoko metadea, Kami bae nel orometa, ondeot! Dela gapanok ale saote, birtebon calaka.

Adge menketa, Birre do cetbon cekaea?

Adoko metadea, Durre! bam baäaea? Netarregge con kami din lagatko jogarjon, isi arär, nahel, kärba, ärgom, kuthe, pareare — noako se kami din sukok lagit. Sahan hõ netarregeko agu ranjkaka. Ina do ona din nanam ban hoyoka.

Adge menketa, Acha ho, endekhan gapa don calaka. Riäuinpe, in don anarigea; eskar do oka sen in calaka?

Adoko metadea, Acha besge, endekhan alele riäu idimea.

Ado eng dosar hilok khang, kathae ko riäu idikede. Ado tengocë namketa, adoko noko songete birteye calaoena. Birre onko do sojhe sojheak katko maketa, ar adom hor do cur mar sahanke nam jarwayeta. Ar nui do cet hõ ban. Ona birre hõ nui do onte notë aurigeye dära barae kana. Ado dära därae eskarge mittan dhasna sen eskargeye calaoena, ar katkogeye nolao bara

⁷¹ The girl is an only child; the younger brothers here referred to are either cousins (called brothers) or others standing in artificial relationship to the girl. See p. 236, note 2. It might be remarked that the relationship between a man and his wife's younger brothers is called *landa sagai*, lit. laughing relationship, i. e., people standing in such relationship to one another are permitted to laugh and jest with each other and to be intimate. They need not observe the forms otherwise considered necessary.

⁷² It is customary with the Santals to use the off-season for preparing implements and household goods.

⁷³ The Santals have different sizes of axes. The one here mentioned (*tengocë*) is small, fit only for cutting branches and small trees. All axes used by the Santals are manufactured by the local blacksmiths.

The younger brothers⁷¹ of his wife in the village were constantly saying to him: "Look here you, you are doing absolutely no work? It is to no purpose that we have taken you in."

He would answer them: "What shall I do then in this dull time, when there is nothing on? Only when the rainy season comes, I shall have to plough. Do people plough at present? Of course, they don't."

Then they say to him: "Could you not use the spade here and there where the ground is rough and uneven?"

"Where should I dig," he would answer, "as I have not seen whereabouts the ricefields are?"

"He does not recognize what work is, the imbecile scamp," they said to him. "Come along with us to-morrow to the forest."

"What are we going to do in the forest?" he asked.

"Oh dear!" they said to him, "don't you know? Why, at the present time people make the necessary preparations for the working season: plough-beams and yokes, plough-handles, clod-crushers, legs and frames of bedsteads⁷², these things are all needed to be comfortable in the working season. Firewood also people collect and pile up at the present time; then it will not be necessary to fetch it at that time."

"All right," he replied; "then I shall go to-morrow. Call me to come along; I am a stranger here; where should I go alone?"

"Very well," they said; "then we shall call you to come along."

So the next day they called and took him along. He found a small axe⁷³ and went together with the other boys to the forest. In the forest the other ones were cutting straight and good timber, and some were busily engaged collecting firewood. But this one was doing absolutely nothing. There in the forest also this fellow was walking about hither and thither at random. As he was rambling about apart from the others, he quite alone reached the slope of a hill; during this he was looking at the timber, what it might be good for. Then there on that hill-slope

idiyeta. Ado ona dhasnare mittan kat doe roret kane anjomketa. Ona do nonka leka arano kane, banma, In do jahae ko idilin khan, ar parkom kutheko benaolin kham, uni hor do ekkalte rajgeye hoyoka.

Ado onkae anjomket khan doe sen sorena. Ado arho mit dhaoe rorketa. Khange nui doe menketa, Noa katgen maga ar kuthe benaoa. Ar kattet do ban sojhea, aditet karban kurbaagea. Ado ona anjomtegeye makketa. Menketae, Bhalan bidagea, sari se nase kana.

Ado onko atoren kora do mak barakateko durup akan tahakana. Ondege nui kora hoe gok agukettaea, ado bogeteko landa dhutadea. Metae kanako, Nui ia hor ya, un maran birre katge engate ban jutauade. Noa do cet yae makketa ya? Hor do sojhe sojhe-akko bachao barayet khan, nui do engate kondeawakgeye nam barayeta.

Onkako metae kana, arko lebet ultau barayettaea. Ar nui do cet ho bae ror barayeta, thir akangeae. Ado enko songete ina katge orakteye gok agukette had bađe giđi gotkata. Ado atoren kora do ako orakreko laiyeta, ado bogeteko landawae kana. Ado heckateko nel barayet do, sarige kondeage. Adoko men barajon kana, Nui jawae doe lelhagea. Ako orakre doko aculede bando ban, aditete lelhage do. Uni honhartet haram hoe meneta, Cele lelha jawae con engaten jawae gomkekede? Nui do hapen batlao bhorsae kamia, acte do phoe nel oromlea. Adoko men baraketa, Cekaean? Abo gorjbon dqhokedea, batlaotege hoyoktabona.

Dosar hilok khange, kathae, jikhaketteye giriketa, ado parkom kutheye benaoketa. Ar ona kuthe do aisa hikmotkatete benaoketa do, ekkalte horak met lagao utarena; nel torage ekkalteko malun

⁷⁴ A Santal 'bedstead consists of eight pieces of wood, the four legs and four pieces for the frame, two short and two long ones, fixed in holes cut in the legs. The bottom consists of string, quite artistically woven on the frame. A properly made Santal bedstead is quite good and might be used as a model for camp bedsteads.

he heard a log speaking. It was sounding like this: "If any one would take me away and make me into the legs of a bedstead, then that man would at once become a king."

As he heard this he went near to it. Then it spoke once more in the same manner. He then said to himself: "I shall cut this tree-log and make bedstead-legs out of it." Now this log was not straight, it was very twisted and crooked. But having heard this, he cut it, saying: "Well, I shall test it, whether it is true or not."

Now the other village boys had cut what they needed and were sitting down. There to that place this boy also carried what he had on his shoulder, and the other ones laughed him to scorn. They were saying to him: "This unspeakable humbug! in such a big forest there was not, dash it, any timber found to suit him! What is this that he has cut, boys? Whilst other people are in the habit of choosing what is straight and good, this fellow, dash it, is searching for what is crooked."

They spoke to him in this way, whilst they were kicking at and turning his wood over. And he was not saying a single word; he kept quiet. So together with those others he carried this same bit of timber home and threw it with a clash down on the ground. The other village boys told of it in their several homes, and they were laughing a good deal at him. And people were coming to have a look at it; it was quite true, it was crooked. Then they were saying: "This son-in-law is a fool. We wonder whether people in his own home ever put him to work or not; he is extremely foolish." And the old man, his father-in-law, was also saying: "What a fool of a son-in-law is it that I, dash it, have brought in? In days to come this fellow will have to rely on what other people show him to work; he himself will not be able to see what is proper." Then they said: "What will you do? It is at our own desire that we have taken him in; we shall have to instruct him."

The next day, it is told, he cut the wood up in measured lengths, whereupon he made bedstead-legs. And these legs he made so deftly that people's eyes were at once taken in; as soon as they

utərəna. Un utarko' mənkeṭa, Durre! kami dō khubgeye baḍaea, lelha dōe bañ kana; ona dōe sean kan. tahēkana. Adō onako kuṭhe benao sātkeṭteye pareare barawat khan, khub sojontor ṇelena. Khange uni jāwāe koṛa dōe mənkeṭa, Noa parkom dōñ akriña. Jāhāge miṭ ṭakako emañ, onkogeñ emakoa.

Adō joṭo hoṛko metaea, Miṭ ṭaka dō oho damlentama, ar unaḱ dam dō okoe hō ohoḱo emlema.

Adōe metakoa, Bako emañ khan, ohoñ emlekoa.

Adō sari benao sātkaṭe miṭ cando gan hoeyena. Adō cekakote coñ raj dōe añjom ṇamkeṭa, phalna atore khub mōñj parkomko benao akata mente. Adō sipahiye kolkaṭkoa, Do ona parkom dō kiriñ aḡuañpe barē. Jāhā tinakgeko damak, unaḱge emakote ona parkom dōpe aḡuañgea.

Adō dame ematkote sari onko sipahi doko heṇena. Adō ona parkomko ṇelkeṭ khan, onko hō ekkalteko maḷuñ utaṛena. Adō begor dam kulitege bar ṭakako raṛa goṭkeṭte uni koṛako emadea. Khange onko atoren hoṛ doko haharayena. Mənkeṭako, Durre! abo dō bañ akriñokbon metatṭaea, oraḱ khonge akriñentaea. Adō ṭakae ataṇkeṭ khan, uni hoñhartṭeṭ haram dō khube raṣkayena. Ar ona ṭaka dō ataṇkate uni hoñhartṭeṭ haṛamgeye caladea. Adō un khon dō ceṭ hō bako mən daṛaea, ar landa hō bako landawaea.

Ar ona parkom dō onko sipahiko idikeṭa. Adō kuṭheko pareareko nunaḱ husnaḱ, ar aiṣa mihi baberteye teñ akat tahēkana, onḍeko seṭerkeṭ khan dō, kathae, raj hō ṇel torageye maḷuñ

⁷⁵ The story refers to a time when money had another value than it has at present among the Santals. As an example it may be mentioned that I have heard it said that formerly cows were paid at the rate of one rupee per half seer (one seer about one litre) of milk they gave per day. A Santal cow very seldom gives so much as 'half a seer per day. I think I have seen a small bedstead sold for eight annas (8 d.).

⁷⁶ They have no pockets in their cloths, which are ordinarily draped round the body. Money and small articles are tied up in the cloth at an end-corner.

⁷⁷ He had not even to take the bedstead to a market-place to get it sold; people came for it.

saw them, people were at once utterly bewitched. Then only people said: "Oh dear me! as for work, he knows that excellently well; he is no fool; that other thing only meant that he was cunning." When he had made those legs ready and he had provided a frame for them⁷⁴, it was all looking exceedingly beautiful. The son-in-law then said: "I shall sell this bedstead. Any one who is willing to give me one rupee I shall give it to."

All people then said: "It will certainly not be priced at one rupee⁷⁵; so much certainly no one will be willing to give you."

"If they don't give me," he said to them, "I shall certainly not let them have it."

After he had made this ready, about one month had passed. Then somehow or other the king heard about it, that in such and such a village they had made an exceedingly beautiful bedstead. He sent his messengers, saying: "Do buy and bring that bedstead to me. Whatever price they put on it, pay them that and bring the bedstead to me."

He gave them money to pay with, and the messengers came. When they saw the bedstead, they also at once became utterly bewitched, and without asking about the price they untied their cloth⁷⁶, took out two rupees and gave to the boy. Then the village people became astonished. They said: "Oh dear! we were saying that it would not be sold; and it has been sold from his home⁷⁷."

When he had received the money, his father-in-law became very pleased. When he had received that money, he handed it over to the old man, his father-in-law. From that time on they could not say anything to him, nor did they laugh at him.

The king's messengers now took the bedstead away. The legs and the frame of the bedstead were so delightful to look at, and he had woven the bottom⁷⁸ with such fine cord, — so when they reached there, the king also, it is told, was charmed as soon as he

⁷⁸ See above note 74. The string used is twined very carefully and otherwise stretched and worked, so as to be strong and even. The Santals weave the bottom in a way peculiar to themselves, commencing with a string stretched

gotena. Landakate orakteye ader ocoketkoa, ado onde mit pohor ganko nelketa. Ado onko sipahiye kuliketkoa, Noa reak dam do tinakpe emketa?

Adoko menketa, Raja saheb, cetle menkea, bandom edreale bandu cet. Parkom nel toragele malun gotente bar takale emadea. Ar uni tulué dor dam reak do jahan katha bale rorleta, ale khusitege unakle em gotena.

Ado raje menketa, Baña, besgepe emadea. Arho bickom pon ana gan handi nu hope emae khan jutkokgea. Boge jinis hataote do barti dam emokre ho ban haksoa. Baña, besgepe emadea.

Ado ninda khang raj do ona parkomre gitiékateye japitketa. Ado onako ponea kuthe do, kathae, parkom khon bocena. Mitān kuthe do purubte calaoena, mit do pachimte, ar mit do utorte ar mit do dakhinte. Ado purub reak kuthe do uni raj uparte larhai lagit phadko hijuk kan tahékana, onkoe daram akatkoa. Ar pachim senak kuthe do raj cetanre dolan bhit bindarok kan tahékana, onae otkao daram akata. Ar utor senak kuthe do bine eset akadea; uni raj jome lagat rajak panahireye bolo akan tahékana; uniye horho akadea. Ar ona dakhin senak kuthe do cete celaketa? Mitān rakas uni raj jome lagate cahap aguyet tahékana. Ado ona kuthe mocaé tibhi daram akadea, bae sor ocoadea. Nonka uni raj doe kukmū kana.

Ado sari setak jokhen beretenteye neleť kan do ponon kuthege banuk, otreye gitić akan. Adoe meneta, Ayo! noa kukmū do sari kangea se? Bhala odokkateñ nellege. Ado onka menkate panahi horog lagate nam barayet khan, kutheye ror gotketa, Hā hā! alom horoga. Onare do amren bairin eset akadea; in

diagonally over the frame from one end-corner to where a rope is fixed right across the frame, near the foot end. This contrivance makes it easy to stretch and tighten the bottom when it is sagging.

⁷⁹ A pourboir is not common, but it is occasionally given. A bakshish is very frequently spent as here indicated.

saw it. Laughing he ordered it to be taken into his house, and there they looked at it for quite a while. He then asked the messengers: "What price did you pay for this?"

"Raja Saheb," they replied, "what should we say? We don't know whether you will be angry with us or not. As soon as we saw the bedstead, we were quite bewitched and gave him two rupees; but we did not speak anything with him concerning the price; we gave him so much of our own accord with pleasure."

"That is nothing," the king said; "it was quite in order what you gave him. Rather if you had given him some four annas more to drink beer with⁷⁹, it would have been nice. When you receive a good thing, it does not give pain, even if you pay too much. It is nothing; it was quite in order what you gave him."

That night the king lay on this bedstead and fell asleep. Now the four legs slipped off from the frame, it is told. One bedstead-leg went towards the East, one towards the West, one towards the North and one towards the South. The leg that went towards the East — armies were coming to fight against this king, and it was meeting them. As for the leg gone towards the West, — a wall of the palace was going to fall over the king, and the leg was hindering this. And the leg in the North had shut up a snake; this one had entered the shoes of the king with the intention of killing him; the leg was keeping a watch on the snake. And what was the leg that had gone towards the South doing? An ogre was coming with his mouth wide open to eat the king. And this leg met him and put itself as a prop into his mouth; it did not permit him to come near. This was what the king was dreaming.

Then when he got up in the morning, he in very truth sees: the four bedstead-legs are not there; he is lying on the floor. Then he says: "Oh mother! should this be a true dream, or how? Well, I shall go out and see, before doing anything else." When he, thinking this, was searching for his shoes, the bedstead-leg called out: "Stop, have a care! don't take them on. I have shut your enemy up in them; if I had not been there, he would have

bañkhan hutene jomkema. Khange raj dōe hohoketa, adō thehgako aguketa, arko dal gočkedeā.

Inakate pachim senak duarteye ođokók kan tahgkana. Adō ontenak kuṭheye menketa, Hā hā! notē dō alom hijuka. Notere dō amren bairiñ ešet akadea. Adō sariye ṇelket dō, dolan bhit lađe akan, ar ona kuṭhete ṭesa daram akan. Khangeye hohokette ona bhitko ṭesaketteko ḡhaka ruarkata.

Adō bahre sen ođokkateye ṇele kan dō, miṭṭaṇ rakase cahaṇ akat nui jome lagat. Adō kuṭheye menketa, Den banduk aguime, gojeme. Nui dō amren bairiñ daram akadea. In bañkhan hutēn teheṅgeye jomkema. Adō iniko ṭhu gočkede khan, kuṭhe dō tinre coṇ heč goṭen.

Adō ini gočkate raj dō orakteye hečente kuṭheye todarotet kana. Pea dō tinre coṇ hečente parearere gotao akan, ar miṭ dō banuk. Khangeye menketa, Noako kuṭhe jōkhon iñren bairiko ešet daram akatko tahgkana, nui hō onkage janič bairigeye ešet akatkoā, onatege bañ hijuk kana.

Adō sontori phađe juṭauketkoa. Adō purub nakha se cando rakaṇ senko calaoen khan, aema utaṛ phađe ešet akatkoko ṇelkedeā. Adō nokoko calaoen khan, kathae, ona kuṭhe dō tinre coṇ hečente parkom parearere dō gotao goṭen. Ar raj dō onko phaḡ tuluc laṛhaiyente, onkoe bhagaoketkoa. Adō ruar hečkateye ṇelket dō, ponon kuṭhege parearere pahrau akan menakgeye ṇelketa.

Khange aḡi bariče raškayena, are menketa, Noa parkom iate iñak bañcao hoeventiña, ar bañkhan in dō hutēn teheṇreñ mohor meṭao koka. Adōe menketa, Okoe hore benao akata noa parkom, uni doṇ aguyegea.

⁸⁰ On special occasions the principals are expected to give a feast of some kind, to show their satisfaction and joy and to make others merry. We are here fairly near to primitive customs.

⁸¹ Curds (in Santali dāhe, Hindi dahi, from Skr. dadhi), sour milk, something like kefir, a very common article of food, also much appreciated as a remedy in certain complaints. As the name shows, the stuff belongs originally to the Hindus, and is much more in use with them than with the Santals.

eaten you." The king then called out; they brought a stick and killed the snake.

Thereafter the king was on the point of going out through the western door. Then the leg that was there called out: "Stop! have a care! don't come this way. Over here I have shut your enemy up." Then in very truth he sees: the wall of the palace is slanting and the leg is standing as a prop to prevent it from falling. He then called out, and people came, put props against the wall and pushed it back into position.

When he came outside, he saw: an ogre has opened his mouth wide up to eat him. The bedstead-leg then said: "Do bring a gun; kill him! This enemy of yours I have opposed. If I had not been here, he would have devoured you to-day." When they had shot the ogre dead, the bedstead-leg came back some time or other.

When this one had been killed, the king went inside his house and commenced to investigate concerning the bedstead-legs. Three had some time or other come back and fastened themselves on to the frame-pieces; but one is missing. Then he said: "As these bedstead-legs have been opposing and keeping my enemies back, this one also has likely shut my enemies up; therefore, it is not coming."

He thereupon collected the soldiers of his guard regiment. When they reached the eastern part of the country, or towards the rising of the sun, they saw he had stopped an immense army. And when these came there, this bedstead-leg some time or other came back and fastened itself again to the frame-pieces of the bed. The king fought with that army and vanquished it. And when he returned home, he looked and saw, all four legs are there, fastened to the bedstead-frame.

Then he became very glad and said: "On account of this bedstead I have been saved; otherwise I should have been utterly annihilated to-day." Then he said: "He who has made this bedstead, him I shall surely fetch."

Ado sari hore kolketkote unkin do harām buḍhiko idiketkina. Ar raj do disom hore jarwaketkoa, are lai pasnaoketa, bañma, Nui hor hotete inak jivi do rukhiā akanfiña. Onate nui hor do tehen inak rajosti mit khap in hañiñae kana. Ado tehen khon baḍae orome lagat iate ape disom hor doñ dela akawatpea.

Ado disom horko menketa, Nawa rajem bohalkedea. De tobe bhoj emalem. Inage ale do, ar jāhān do bañ.

Ado sari dahe taben disom hore ematkoa, ado eneko apan apin barayena. Ar nui koṛa doe rajena.

Ado dosar tesar serma khangē uni koṛa do aḍren enḡat apate aguketkina. Ar dosar serma do unkin hanhar hoñhartete idiketkina. Ado ene joto hor raj nañgraharegeko tahēyena.

Ado ene niā katha doñ caba hatar akata. Inak haḇiḇkak kangeañ.

23. Mitṭañ mahra koṛa reañ.

Sedae jokhen, kathae, mitṭañ mahra koṛae tahēkana; ado uni koṛa do gai gupi gupitegeye harayena. Adoe harayen khan do baḥuko ṇamkedea uni koṛako bahuae lagit. Adoko neṇḍa goṇḍaketa, Niā phalna dinre do baṛiātokbon calaka. Ado sari neṇḍa din hiloḷ do baṛiātokke calak kana; ar uni koṛa doe jāwāe beṭa akana, paḷkireko tul akadea.

⁸² Taben is parched rice, pounded flat in a ḍhiñki, a husking 'machine', especially set up for this purpose. The sun-dried paddy is first soaked, then roasted and finally pounded. It is generally eaten with dahe. It is not much of a feast they get; but as there was no time for preparing, it was what they could do.

⁸³ The end here given would seem to presuppose that there should be a continuation. I have not heard any.

²³¹ In spite of the Santali garb this story seems to be borrowed from Hindu sources.

² Mahra is the name used by the Santals for the Hindu caste commonly called goala or gowala. The caste occupation is more especially to herd cattle.

He then sent people and they took both of them, husband and wife, away with them. The king called the people of his country together and announced: "Through this man my life has been saved. Therefore I am to-day giving this man a share of my kingdom. And in order that you may recognize him from to-day, I have invited you, the people of my country, to come."

The people then said: "You have appointed a new king. Please, then, give us a feast⁸⁰. That is what we want, and otherwise nothing."

The king then, in very truth, gave his people curds⁸¹ and flat rice⁸². Thereupon they dispersed, every one to his own home, and this young man became king.

After a couple of years, the young man fetched his father and mother; and the next year he took his parents-in-law away there. So all of them lived in the king's city.

So now there I have for the present ended this story⁸³. I am telling as much as up to this.

23. THE STORY OF A MAHRA BOY¹.

ONCE upon a time, long ago, people tell, there was a mahra² boy; this boy grew up herding cows. When he had grown up, they sought and found a girl to marry her to the boy; and they fixed a time: "on such and such a day we shall start for the marriage ceremony". On the day fixed they really started; the boy was now the bridegroom, they were carrying him in a palanquin³.

In the Santal country mahras are fairly common; most of them have some land to cultivate; all of them have cattle, some living on the produce of these. By more well-to-do people they are employed as cow-herds. They also have some experience in veterinary matters. When the cattle is suffering from some disease or other, the Santals will often call a mahra in to help them.

³ Cp. p. 32, note 1. What is here told, refers to the Hindu custom.

Khange calak calakte ado mittan gai do hor arege mit-
tan ledreya thali akana. Khange uni korako tul idiyede khane
metadea, E jawae beta, bahu agum calak kana, adi raskam
aikaueta. De noa thali khon or odokkanme.

Ado uni kora do ona rora anjom thikketteye ror ruarketa,
Ohon odoklenia, losodokan nahak.

Ado gai do, kathae, uni korae sarap gotadea, menketae, Cet,
in bam beretlidiinte nelme nahak am do bahum jotetle khangem
gadhaka.

Ado uni kora do onae anjomket khane metaakoa, Mase kahar,
doholepe, tanditen senlenge.

Ado sariko dohokedea; adoe argoyente uni kora do uni gai
thene calaoenteye or beretkedeadea. Ado uni korae menketa, Henda
gai, cedak onka dom asisadiha? Ma ona asis do agu ruartam,
bankhan do nahak hor adi baricko landawana.

Ado uni gaiye menketa, Nitok don rorketa, ona do amre
paraokgea; ar nitok do cekate ona don agu ruara? Ona do oh
jutlena, nitok do enten ror cabaket do. Pahilre barem beretlin
khan hutec, bes hoekoka.

Ado uni korae menketa, Endekhan in do cekate bahu tulu
don ror landaea? In do adim moskilkidiha.

⁴ A thing like this would not happen in the Santal country proper, where the country is a little hilly. In the low-lying, flat and muddy Bengal country such incidents are of common occurrence. The writer has a vivid recollection of a journey at night in a bullock-cart across country in one of the eastern Bengal districts. The driver kept him awake by his talk, generally to the bullocks, but sometimes also to the occupant of the cart, telling stories of what had happened here and there, as we were passing along. At one place he called out that at that particular spot in the month of July-August two years previously a cow belonging to a certain person had sunk in the mud and had died, as they had been unable to get the animal out in time.

⁵ To the Hindus the cow is a sacred animal, in which divinity is residing. Not to help a cow is therefore to them a more serious matter than it would be to a Santal. To the Santals the cow is a useful animal. The idea of a cow cursing is not Santal.

⁶ Cf. p. 42, note 4.

Whilst they were travelling along, they happened to pass a cow, which had sunk and stuck in a miry hole by the side of the road⁴. As they were carrying the young man along, the cow said to him: "O bridegroom, you are going to fetch your wife, you are feeling very happy. Please pull me out of this mud in which I have stuck."

The boy heard and clearly understood what the cow said, but answered: "I cannot pull you out, I should only be bespattered with mud."

The cow⁵ then cursed the boy and said: "What! as you did not raise me up, behold, as soon as you touch your wife, you will be turned into a donkey."

When the boy heard this, he said to the carriers: "Please, bearers⁶, put the palanquin down a moment; I have to go somewhere⁷ at once."

They consequently put him down, and the boy got out, went to the cow and pulled her up on her legs. Then he said: "I say, cow, why did you curse me in such a way? Do take that curse of yours back again; otherwise people will laugh very much at me."

The cow replied: "Now I have spoken, and what I have spoken must come to pass with you; how can I then take that back again? That would never do, as I have completed the whole utterance⁸. If you had only put me on my legs at once, everything would have been well."

"How then," the boy said, "shall I be able to talk and laugh⁹ with my wife? You have put me in an awful difficulty."

⁷ Lit. go to the field, one of several Santal veiled expressions about going to respond to the call of nature. He prefers not to tell at once why he wants to get down.

⁸ The word already spoken cannot be taken back; the only remedy is to give a blessing which will counteract or remedy the curse. The same idea is, as is well known, met with among other peoples.

⁹ 'To talk' or 'to talk and laugh with', when used about persons of different sex, is often a veiled expression for sexual intercourse. It has not, of course, always this meaning. It is significant for what they think of the mutual relations especially of young people.

Ado uni gaiye menketa, Acha, alom raga; thorān bhōram kana: uni am bāhuge hapēne hōr ruar ocomea, ar bañkhan dō okōe hō ohoko hōr darelema.

Ado sari onkae metade khan, uni kora dō adi bhabnakate uni gai then khone calaoente palkireye deēena. Ar uni gaiye rorkef katha dō uni kora chaḍa okōe hō bako bujhauleta. Ado uni korako kulikedeā, cetkoben galmarao kana mente. Ado unre uni korae laiketa, Inak dō nonka onka hal hoyoktiña nāhāk, ona katha uni gai dōe metadiña.

Khange ado ona katha anjomte sanam horko bhabnayena, arko menketa, Acha delabon se, bhalabon bidāua, sari kana se nase.

Khange ado sariko tul idikedeteko calao tiokketa. Ado sarige baplak jokhen sindurade torage, kathae, eṇḍege uni kora dōe gadha gotena. Ado sanam horko helkede khan dō, adi baričko bhabnayena arko haharayena. Ado kuriren engat apatko menketa, Baña, nui dōe gadhayena; hoṇnera dō ohole kollepea.

Ado ona katha uni kuriye anjomket khane menketa, Baña, in dō uni jāwāe thengeñ tahēna. Ado Thakurge cet iate cōn nonka likhōn dōe emadiñ. Jāhānić akangeye, in dō ini jāwāe thengeñ tahēna.

Ado sari onkae menket khan dō, engat apat hō cetko mena? Khangekō bidā gotkadea, adōe calaoena kora reak orakte, se koraren engat apat orakteko idikedeā. Ado bapla nimbhauen khan,

¹⁰ Red-lead, applied to the bride at marriage.

¹¹ Thakur is the name commonly used by the Santal gurus for the Supreme Being. It is known to all Santals, but except on special solemn occasions, such as when taking certain oaths, this name is not commonly used now-a-days. Some attempts have been made to prove that this word is the original Santal name for God, and that it is a non-Aryan, or non-Sanskritic word, introduced into Sanscrit at a very late period. The present writer has not been convinced by the arguments adduced, but is inclined to think that the word is of Aryan origin and to be derived from the root sthā (so prof. dr. Sten Konow). It might be remarked that the word is a fairly common brahminical family-name in certain parts of northern India. It might be noted that the well known Indian name written Tagore is the same name, pronounced like the Santali word.

"Well, well," the cow replied, "don't cry; I am giving you a small blessing: your wife, she will some time in future make you turn into a human being again; otherwise no one will be able to do that."

As the cow spoke to him in this way, the boy went away from her much grieved and mounted the palanquin.* Now no one except the boy had understood what the cow said, and the other ones asked the boy what they had been talking together. The boy then told them: "Such and such my fate will be presently, that's what the cow told me."

When they heard this, all of them became much grieved and said: "Well, come along, let us put it to the test, whether it is true or false."

So they carried him along, until they reached their destination. Then in very truth, people tell, as soon as he during the marriage ceremonies applied the sindur¹⁰ to the bride, then and there the boy at once became a donkey. All those who were present there saw this and became awfully grieved and astonished. The parents of the girl said: "This won't do; the boy has become a donkey; we are utterly unwilling to send our daughter with you."

But when the girl heard this, she said: "Not so, I shall remain with my husband. It is *Ṭhākur*¹¹ who, for some reason or other, has given me such a fate. Let him be turned into whatever he may, I shall remain with this husband of mine."

As she spoke in this way, what could her parents say? They thereupon bade her farewell, and she went away to the boy's home, that is to say, they took her off to the home of the boy's parents. When everything in connexion with the marriage had been finished, the girl said: "I say, father, we two¹² shall go on

¹² It might be noted that parents-in-law and children-in-law always in Santali address one another in the dual number and also use the exclusive dual form of the personal pronoun when speaking of themselves, even if only one person is meant. The husband or wife, as the case may be, is always mentally included when these relatives talk together. It should be borne in mind that the dual

uni kuṛiye mēnkeṭa, Iṭa baba, balamtekoliṇ hiri ṭṭukoa. Ado tāhā énkate oṇḍe khon uni koṛa se jāwāetete aṇḍije laḡit. Ado onkae roṛ saḍeket khan dō, saṛiko sapraoketkina, ado nāihāṛtekin calaoena.

Ado oṇḍe hō uni kuṛi dō ṭḍiko landawaea, ado ona lajaote uni kuṛiye mēnkeṭa, uni gadhae metadea, Nonḍe dō balan tahēna, delaṇ jāhā disomteṇ idimea; nonḍe dō ṭḍi baṛic hoṛko landawaṇ kana. Ado onka mēnkate hoṛte jom laḡite sajaoketa, ado uni gadha sotokkatege, kathaekin oḍokena.

Ado calak calakte, kathae, miṭṭaṇ raj disomkin tiokkeṭa. Ado uni rajakge pukhri menaktaea, ar ona pukri arerege miṭṭaṇ indara kūi menaka, ado uni gadha dō ona pukhri are areteye aṭiṇ baṛayede kana. Ar ona atoren hoṛ dō ona kūi reak dakko

number does not properly denote two separate individuals but marks them, or one of them, as belonging to a pair. In a similar way people whose children have married use the inclusive personal pronoun of the plural when speaking together, even when actually only one person is meant. Only when absolutely necessary, they may use the exclusive form of the plural to one another. Cf. next note.

- ¹³ Bala (the word is in Santali never used without the abridged personal pronoun suffixed, thus balaṇ, balam, balat, my, thy, his or her bala) means what has been called a 'co-parent-in-law' i. e., a man or woman whose child has been married to a child of the other person. The writer is inclined to think, that bala is derived from Sanscrit, where the word means strength. Balaṇ hoṛ would thus in Santali really mean 'the man of my strength', or 'who is my strength'. The common word in Santali for marriage is bapla, which is a reciprocal form of bala, and consequently really means 'mutual strengthening', if the original meaning is as supposed. In support of this view the following may be mentioned: a marriage among the Santals is, when regular, always arranged, not by the young people, but by the heads of the families concerned; the bride is bought by the family of the bridegroom and is the property of this family, legally speaking. It is a family arrangement. Balaya, i. e., two whose children have been married, are considered special friends, who are always supposed to honour one another and behave towards each other in a special, polite way. Cf. what is mentioned in the note above about the way in which these relatives address one another. The Santals have a proverb: haka leka utu, seṅgel leka paṛa, balam leka peṛa, okarem ṇamkoa?

a visit to the family of your bala¹³." What she really wanted to do, was in this way to get a pretext for taking the boy, i. e., her husband, away from there; and when she had spoken in this way, they made them ready for the journey, and they started for the girl's parents' home.

There also they laughed very much at the girl, and as she felt ashamed at this, she said, i. e., she said to the donkey: "We shall not remain here; come along, I shall take you to some country or other; here people are laughing at me immoderately." Having said this, she prepared what was needed for the road, whereupon she took the donkey with her, and they went away.

As they were walking along, they reached the country of a certain king. Now there was a tank¹⁴ belonging to the king, and by the side of this tank there was a masonry¹⁵ well, and the girl let the donkey graze on the sides of the tank. The people of that village

Curry like fish(-curry), liquor like fire, friends like your bala, where will you find them? It might further be mentioned that most of the names for relationship brought about by, or founded on marriage, are of Aryan, or Sanscritic origin. — So much has been said about this matter, because it is of some ethnological interest. It tends towards showing, not that the Santals or their ancestors received the idea of marriage from the Aryan peoples, but that marriage in its present form among the Santals owes much to Aryan influence. Their traditions mention that their ancestors at the time when they were leaving Champa (probably a part of the present Chota Nagpur plateau) deliberately decided to give up some of their old customs and to adopt new ones. It is not unlikely that the marriage forms and customs were among the things altered.

¹⁴ See p. 84, note 5. It might be mentioned that agricultural lands lying lower than a tank are always considered very good for rice cultivation, because they will generally have a sufficiency of moisture, a prime necessity for the rice plant.

¹⁵ The common Santal wells are narrow pits, where a man can go down and come up by putting his feet into small hollows made for the purpose on opposite sides of the well. Larger wells with masonry walls, as the one here mentioned, are generally the property of well-to-do Hindus or Mohammedans; in outlying places like that here described they are frequently dug and built by some person who wants in this way to make himself a name or to acquire merit by a good act. Now-a-days the local authorities build such wells at roadsides or in public places.

lo idiyeta. Ar uni kuṛi hō ona kūi thenge jol pane jomketa. Ar ona pukhri latarre dō rajren sioḱko menaḱkoa, kuṛi pocis nahelko jorao akata. Ar uni kuṛi dō onko ſioḱ sor macha ſenreye duṛuṇ akana.

Ado tikiṇoḱ kan hō onko sioḱko dō baskeakge bako idiako kana. Ado onko sioḱko dō aḱi baṛiḱo kadraoḱ kana, meṇetako, Henda ya, teheṇ dō ceṭ iate bako aguabon kana? Noakoren sanam hoṛko aguatkōa; abo bhala ceṭ iate teheṇ dō bako aguabon kana? Nitok nāhāḱ jāhāeko aguketa meṇkhan, dalbo dalkoa se, khub lekabon dalkoa. Ceṭ iate nun maraṇ berenre hō bako aguyeta?

Ado kathae, enka hōko roṛ sāotegeko beṇgetleṭ doko ṇelketa, rajren kaṁṛi kuṛi aḱren gidṛa sotoḱkate baskeake dipil aguako kan. Adoko meṇketa, Haṇi ya darae kana; nit eneḱ eṇgate baskeake berae kana? Ado enka roṛ baṛakategeko thirena. Ado uni kaṁṛi kuṛi dō onko sioḱko pheḍre baskeake doḱokatte aḱ dō ona kūite dak lo aguī laḱiṭ kaṇḁa heṛmeṭkatēye calaoena. Ar uni aḱren gidṛa hō tayom tayomteye paṇja idikedeā.

Ado ona takrege okaren baṛiatko coṇ aḱi baṛiḱ rajan bhajan-ateko ru idiyeta. Ado uni kaṁṛi kuṛi dō onko baṛiatko ſengeye beṇgeṭ akata; ar uni aḱren gidṛa dō aḱ samaṇregeye teṅgo akan dō bae diṣayede kana. Ado kaṇḁa paṣia meṇte uni gidṛa hoṭoḱ-

¹⁶ When not carried on the hip, children are generally kept walking in front, so as to make it easy to keep an eye on them.

¹⁷ A very common way of carrying an empty water-pot, the arm being kept round the neck of the pot. A full water-pot is generally carried on the head, but may occasionally be seen carried on the hip, with the arm round the pot-neck, very much like the way in which children are carried on the hip. Hindu women frequently carry the filled water-pot in this way.

¹⁸ A marriage-procession generally has a number of musicians in attendance. The musicians are mostly of the dōm caste (see p. 128, note 12), the instruments used being drums of sorts, clarinets, pipes, triangles, cymbals and several kinds of horn. The number varies according to the importance of the party. Every time the marriage-procession passes a village, they start drumming, tinkling and blowing and make a tremendous noise, easily heard even at a great distance.

were in the habit of drawing water from this well. The girl herself also took some refreshments at that well. Below the tank the king's ploughmen were at work, they had twenty to twenty-five ploughs going. The girl was sitting somewhere fairly near to where they were ploughing.

Now it was becoming nearly noon, they were hot even then bringing the forenoon meal out to those who were ploughing, and the ploughmen were grumbling, saying: "Look here, why are they not bringing us anything to-day? They have brought food to all the rest round here; what can possibly be the cause that they do not bring anything to us? Now if anybody should bring anything, we shall beat them, we shall give them a good thrashing. Why don't they bring, even when the day is so far advanced?"

Even whilst they were talking in this way, they looked up and saw that a servant-girl of the king's was coming towards them, having her child walking in front of her¹⁶ and carrying their forenoon meal on her head. "Look," they said, "over there she is coming; now only, dash it, she is finding time to bring the forenoon meal." Having spoken in this way, they did not say anything more. The servant-girl put the food down near the ploughmen, whereupon she, with a water-pot under her arm¹⁷, went to the well to draw water, and her child also followed after her there.

Just at that moment some marriage-procession or other was passing with great pomp and music, drumming¹⁸ as they went past. The servant-girl was looking at the marriage-procession and was not aware that her child was standing there just in front of her. Thinking that she was putting a noose round the neck of the water-pot she put it round the neck of her child and let it

The idea seems to be to make people take notice, but also to scare ghostly enemies away. It is a non-Santal custom, but now frequently adopted by them. The number of dōms hired by Santals varies according to their means, but is never very large.

geye pasikette kũiteye ārgokedeā. Ado or rakab jokheće hēlkede dō, gidraī pasi akadē. Ado uni gidra dōe goćentaea; ado ādiye bhabnayena. Ado phorphundi joraoa mefite uni gidra dō onko siokko thene hōbōr idi hoťkedeā, ar onako baskeak dō jotōe chitiāu gidikata. Ado gidra hōbōrkate kāmāu bogeteye rakketa. Ado gidra hōbōrkate uni kāmri dō raj thene lalisketa je, Amren siokkoge inren gidra doko dal goćkedetiña.

Ado raje menketa, Cēdak, ceť iateko dal goćkedetama?

Ado menketa, Apege berenre hō baskeak bape em hoťadiña; reñgećteko kadraoente baskeak hō jotoko chitiāu gidikette inko daleñ kan tahēkana, ado nui gidraģeko dal goćkedetiña. Ar bam paťiāuk khan, mitñā okaren maejiu coñ oñde gadhae aťiñede kana, uniye hēlletlea.

Ado raje menketa, Durrē! noa dō bhāri moskil hoeyena. Ado sipahikoe kolkeťkote onko jotō siokkoko hōhō āguketkōa. Ado onkoe kulikeťkōa, Henda ya siok kořa, sari nui kāmri kuřiren gidra dō apegepe dal goćkedetaea? Ar kathae, baskeak hō bape jomleta, jotō, kathaepe chitiāu gidikata. Mase bhala dhōrom dhōrom rořpe, noa katha dō sari kana se nase. Ma siñ boñga sewakate dhōrom rořpe. Noa dō bhāri inģepe modoikidiñ dō.

Ado oñko siok hoř Siñ cando sen sewakate dhōrom phukarkateko menketa, Ale dō dhōrom dhōromle rořeta, ma aňjomtaleme. Nui kāmri kuři dō baskeake idikette onale siok kan ařere-

¹⁹ The way in which the woman here acts is not impossible; the writer has seen Indian women trying to get out of a scrape in similar absurd ways.

²⁰ Shop-keepers, people who have any kind of business of some importance, not to mention 'kings', i. e., zemindars, always have a smaller or larger number of persons round their offices and elsewhere, doing service as watchmen, messengers, &c. These people are a kind of private soldiers. The greatness and importance of a potentate is calculated according to the number of these attendants. Santals have no such servants, except very exceptionally.

²¹ What is here described is very much what may be witnessed in a village-council, before 'the Five'. The person exhorted to swear salutes the sun, as one bows to some superior person. It is remarkable that, if the council sits in

down into the well. When she drew it up, she saw that she had snared her child. Her child was dead, and she was very much grieved. To concoct a false story and put the blame on other people she quickly carried her child in her arms to where the ploughmen were, and scattered the whole forenoon meal over the place and threw it away. Thereupon she commenced to make an awful noise crying, whilst she had her child in her arms¹⁹. Carrying her child in her arms the servant-girl went to the king and complained: "Your ploughmen have beaten my child to death."

"Why," the king said, "what was the cause that they beat your child to death?"

"You," she replied, "even when the day was far advanced, you did not give me the forenoon meal quickly; out of hunger they were grumbling and angry, scattered and threw away all the food and beat me, and this child of mine they beat to death. If you don't believe it, a strange woman is grazing a donkey there, she saw us."

"Dear me," the king said, "this has become an awfully difficult matter." He thereupon sent some peons²⁰, who summoned and brought all the ploughmen, and asked them: "Look here, you ploughboys, did you really beat the child of this servant-girl to death? You did not even eat your forenoon meal, it is said, you scattered the food over the place and threw all of it away. Now, please, speak what is right and true, is this true or false? Make your obeisance to the day-god and speak the truth²¹. You have put me in an awfully difficult position with this."

The ploughmen then made their obeisance towards the sun, swore and said: "We are speaking what is the truth, listen to us. This servant-girl brought our forenoon meal and put it down close to where we were ploughing; she also had this child with

the afternoon, the person in question salutes the sun and also towards the east, the region of the rising sun. As a rule the oath taken is a promise to speak the truth, adding that Chando is seeing; the speaker is to be responsible

geye dōhōketa, ar nui gidra hōe idi toraledgea. Adōe dōhōkatte ac dō kanḍae hermetkette kūi sene calak kana, ar nui gidra hō ac tayom tayomtegeye calaoena, bana hōrge. Ona indara kūi thenkin sen akan jōkhenge okaren bariatko cōn aḍi barié rajan bhajanate ona phalna ḍaharteko calak kana, adō onko sengeye benget akata. Adō onte koyōkkatege kanḍa pasia mēnteye mēnleta cele, adō acēn gidra samānreye tēngo akan dō bae hēle kana. Adō uni gidrage hōtōkrege pasikedete ona indara kūireye ārgokedeā. Adō or rakapkatēye hēle kan dō, acēn gidrageye pasi gockede. Adōe rarakedete ale then hare phare onēle siok kan thene hōbōr āgu gōtkedete ona baskeak dō jōtōe chitiāu gidikata, adō cur mar kaumāu bogeteye garjaoketa. Adō ale hōle hīr hēcentele hēlkede dōe gocentae. Adō alege cur mar bogeteye egerketlea are metale kana, Apege in hōpe dalkidiña, ar inēn gidra hō apegepe dal gockedetiña. Adō enka mēnkatege nui dō acēn gidra hōbōrkate rak rakte nōtege orakteye hōbōr āgukedeā. Ar ale dōle metae kangea, Iā aimāi, acētegeye gockedetāea, adō ahak nahakte aboe bōdnametbona. Adō onē onka acētegeye gockedetāea; adō āuriakte ale dōe bōhōk akatlea. Ma enē anān katha dō. Ale dō dhōrōm dhōrōmle rōrēta. Hōrren hōpon dō cet iatele gockoa? Ale dō kichu bōtōr dō bānuktalea?

Adō rajē mēnketa, Dhōrōm dhōrōmgepe rōrēta, sē ērēpe rōrēta? Judi ērēpe rōrēt khan dō, apetegepe sēn hamaloka.

Adōko mēnketa, Ale dō dhōrōmgele rōrēta; judi ērēle rōrēt khan dō, aletegele sēn hamaloka.

Adō arhō raje mēnketa, Ona siok ārekore dō oḱōekoko tahē-kana bhala? Baskeake chitiāu gidikata, ona dōko hēlledea sē baña?

before him. This kind of oath is, in its present form, likely something introduced from the local law-courts. The Santals have a number of additional forms of oaths, the swearer calling some specific curse down on himself. In such cases they always have something symbolic to visualize the consequences of perjury.

her. When she had put the food down, she took a water-pot under her arm and went towards the well, and this child also followed after her; they went there both of them. Just as they had gone to the masonry well, some marriage-procession or other was passing along that particular road with great pomp and music, and she was looking towards them. Whilst she was looking away towards them, she apparently intended to put a noose round the neck of the water-pot, and she did not see her child, which was standing in front of her. So she put a noose round the neck of her child and let it down into the well. When she had drawn it up, she saw that she had strangled her own child. Then she loosed it and in a hurry brought the child in her arms near to where we were ploughing and scattered and threw all our forenoon meal away; then she started to make all the noise she could and howled. Then we also came running up to her and saw that her child was dead. She at once commenced to abuse us something awful and said to us: You, me you have beaten, and this child of mine you have beaten to death. Speaking in this way she took her child in her arms, and carrying it thus she went crying away in this direction towards your house. We were saying to her: This unspeakable woman, she has herself killed her child, and without any cause at all she puts the blame on us. As we have stated, she herself killed her child, and she has falsely accused us. Well, that is what there is to it. We are speaking the truth. Why should we kill anybody's child? Do you think there is no fear in us?"

"Do you speak the truth?" the king asked them, "or are you telling lies? If you are telling lies, you will yourselves bear the consequences."

"We are speaking the truth," they replied; "if we are telling lies, we shall ourselves take the consequences."

Again the king said: "Close to where you are ploughing, I wonder who happened to be there? She scattered and threw the food away, did anybody see that or not?"

Ado onkoko mēnketa, Noa atokoren do okoe hō bako tahēkana, mēnkhan okaren cōn mittaṅ maejiuye nēlletlea. Uni do ona puhri aṛe aṛete mittaṅ gadhae aṭiṅ baṛayede kana. Uni do khub khaṭiye nēl akatlea.

Ado khangē raje mēnketa, Do sē bhala uni maejiu hōhō aguyepe. Ado sari bar' hōṛ, dosrakingeko kolketkina, ado raje mēnketa, Do aben phalna phalna sipahi calakte hōhō aguyeben bes okōṭe; aloben hurum dhurumēa, arben hurum dhurumkedeā mēnkhan, nāhāk abengeṅ sājāibena.

Ado enkae metaṭkinte sari unkin sipahi dōkin calaoena; adōkin metae kana, Iṛ m̐i, delaliṅ idimea, raj cet laḡit cōe khoj akatme.

Ado uniye mēnketa, Iṅ bidisiṛ hōṛ do cet laḡite khojeṅ kana?

Adōkin mēnketa, Baṅa, cet laḡit cōn ṛḍi jārurḡeye khoj akatmea. Delabon hare phareliṅ idi hōṭmea; am hōkhōge ṛliṅ dōe kol akatliṅa.

Adōe mēnketa, Acha bogege, delabon eṇḍekhan.

Adōkin mēnketa, Baṅa, sōṅgeteliṅ idi toramea, ṛliṅ eskar do ḡholiṅ lahalena. Ado uni gadha ṭhene senenteye laga torayede kana. Ado unkin mēnketa, Baṅa, m̐i, gadha do nōṇḍe baṛe aṭiṅ hataṛ ocoaeme; arhō nāhākem heḷ ḡḍōka.

Ado uni kūrīye mēnketa, Baṅa, nui gadha do ḡhōṇ baḡilea, iṅ do sōṅgeteṅ idi torayea. Ado sari uni gadha hōe sotok torakedeā.

Ado raj samaṅ ṭhenkin teṅgoyena; ado raje mēnketa, Nui gadha do, m̐i, cedakem agu darakedeā? Nōṇḍe do cete jōma? Oṇḍe khan do hutḡe aṭiṅ hataṛkea.

Ado uni kūrīye mēnketa, Baṅa, raj, nui gadha do ḡhōgeṅ baḡilea.

²² The Santali word shows that the two were called by their names.

²³ The text does not seem to justify this rejoinder. The woman has agreed to go with them. The meaning may possibly be that the two peons object to the girl taking the lead.

"No one from any of the villages about here was there," they answered; "but a woman from we don't know where saw us. She was grazing a donkey there by the side of the tank. She has certainly seen us."

The king then said: "Well then, fetch that woman." So they sent two men, others than the ploughmen, and the king said: "You two, so and so, and so and so²², peons go and fetch this woman in a nice way; don't hustle or illtreat her; if you do that, I shall punish you presently."

When he had spoken to them in this way, the two peons went and said to the woman: "I say, my girl, please come along with us, the king has for some reason or other asked for your presence."

"I am from another country," the girl replied, "what can he possibly want to see me for?"

"Don't say so," they said, "for some purpose or other he has demanded your presence very urgently. Come along, we shall take you there in a hurry; he has sent us two to fetch you."

"Very well," the girl replied, "let us go then."

"Not so," they said, "we shall take you along with us²³; we two cannot go ahead alone." The girl then went to the donkey and commenced to drive him along with her. "No, my girl," they said, "let the donkey graze here in the meantime; you will presently be back here again."

"No," the girl replied, "I am not going to leave the donkey here; I am taking him along with me." And this she actually also did.

Presently they were standing before the king, and the king said: "My girl, why have you brought this donkey along with you here? What can he eat here? If he had been left there, he might have been feeding in the meantime."

"No, king," the girl replied, "I am not going to leave this donkey behind."

Ado menketa, Acha bogege endekhan. Ado amgen kuliyetmea, okam nel akat, onage thik thik laianme.

Ado uni kuriye menketa, Cet katha kafa, raj? Adon anjomle nahin ror dareaka.

Ado raje menketa, Acha, ona rean bhontet don laiam kana. Bhala ona pukhirege gadham atin barayede kan tahkana. Ona pukhri latarrege inren siokkoko tahkana; onko dom nelletkoa se ban?

Ado menketa. Nelletkogaan; nokoe nokogeko siok kan tahkana.

Acha, ar nui kuri baskeake idilet dom nelledea se ban?

Ado menketa, Nelledegean.

Acha, endekhan thirokme; nitok do bhedem namketa. Ado anjom mucatlem, enkhanthem rora.

Ado menketa, Acha bogege, ma endekhan do rorlem.

Ado raje ror idiyeta, Noko inren siokko do pukhri latarreko siok kan tahkana, ar nui kamri kuri do gidra sotokkate baskeak idile kolledea. Ado bhala am do onakoregem tahkana. Ado sarige nuiren gidra do noko siokkogeko dal gockede, se acgegeye gockede? Ma ado amge onte notenren goha kanam. Ale more hor do alom botoralea; cotren Sin bong a botoraeme, uni do sanam hore nelletbongea, ar onde khetrepe tahkanre hoe nel akatpegea. Ado dhorum dhorum rorme; okam nel akat ona bar rorme; nit turtakate do alom rora, ar bankhan amtegem sen hamaloka. Ado ma inakgen kuliyetmea, dhorum dhorum rorme.

Ado menketa, Acha, raj, endekhan in roreta, anjomtinpe, dhorum in roreta. Sin bong a pukarkate nui inren gadhareh dibok kana; judi dhorum in ror khan endekhan nui gadhae horoktiha, ar judi bedhorom in ror khan, endekhan gadhageye tahentiha. Ina bar baetaetinpe.

²⁴ She has been cited as a witness by both parties.

²⁵ See above note 21. These words are commonly heard, when a witness is warned to speak the truth.

"Very well then," the king said. "Now I am asking you a question: tell truly and correctly what you have seen."

"What is the matter, king?" the girl replied. "When I hear that, then only I shall be able to speak."

"Well," the king said, "I shall tell you the gist of it. As a matter of fact, you were grazing your donkey near the tank. Below that tank my ploughmen were; did you see them or not?"

"Yes, I saw them," she replied; "those here present were there ploughing."

"Very well, and did you see this girl carrying food there or not?"

"Yes, I saw her," she replied.

"Very well then, be quiet; now you have caught the purport of it. Hear the whole to the end; thereafter you shall speak."

"Very well," the girl said, "please then first tell everything."

The king then continued speaking: "These ploughmen of mine were ploughing below the tank, and we sent this servant-girl, who had her child with her, to carry the forenoon meal out there. You were there in the vicinity. Now did these ploughmen really beat this woman's child to death, or did she kill it herself? You are a witness for both parties²⁴. Don't fear us Five; fear the day-god²⁵ above; he is seeing us all, and whilst you were there at the rice-fields he also saw all of you. Now speak what is the truth; please tell what you have seen. Don't speak anything you concoct now here, otherwise you will yourself bear the consequences. Now this is what I am asking you. Speak what is the truth."

"Very well, king," she said, "then I am speaking, listen to me; I am speaking the truth. Making my obeisance towards the day-god²⁶ I swear by my donkey: if I speak the truth, this donkey of mine shall become a man, and if I speak what is false, he shall remain a donkey. Please know this."

Ado raje menketa, Acha bogege, má endekhan rorme; amak kathatege bicar do phandaoka.

Ado menketa, Sarige in do ona pukhri gadhañ atinede kan tahakana, ar noko siokko do ona latarregeko siok kan tahakana. Ado sanam hor lagit baskeakko idiketa arko jomketa, ar noko lagit do baskeakge ban setorok kan. Ado adi baričko edren kana, menetako, Nun marañ beren hō abo do bako aguabon kana; nit nāhākko aguketa menkkan, dalbo dalkoa se, khubbo dalkoa ar baskeak hō babon jontakoa. Ado enkako ror barae jokhengeko nelkede, nui kamri kuri do gidra sotokkate baskeake dipil idiyet kan. Khange adoko thir barayena. Ado nui kuri do baskeak onko phedregeye dohqatte ac do kanda hermetkate kuite dak loe calak kana, ar uni acen gidra do ac tayom tayomteye panja idikede. Ado ona kui thenkin tiok akat jokhenge okaren baričko con adi rajan bhajanate ona hortegeko calak kana. Ado nui kamri kuri do onko sen koyokkatege kanda pasia menteye menleta, acen gidrage hotokreye pasikedete kuireye cadokede. Ado or rakapkatete nele kan do, gidrage hotokreye pasi akade are gocentae. Ado hako phare noko siokko thene hobor agu gotkedete baskeak do jotoe chitaiu gidikatte ac do gidra hoborkatege cur mare rarak kana, ar noko siokkogey metako kana, Apege inren gidra dope dal gockedetiña. Ado noko hō nir jarwakateko nelkede do, sarigey gocentae, arhoko ruhetkede, Actegeye goč akadea, ado ahak nahakte abo dce bōdnametbona. Ado onkako ror barakede khan, nui do gidra hoborkatege noteye hobor agukede. Ado notere dce cet lekakede con, ona do ohon menlea. Ado ene in

²⁶ See, above note 21. In addition to the ordinary oath she refers to her donkey. In a village-council a thing like this will of course not happen; it belongs to the fairy-tale and has numerous parallels in Hindu tradition. In real life it is always a curse which is called down on the person in question. He may, e. g., be made to stand on a leopard skin and to say that if he does not speak the truth then may a leopard take him, or, as in boundary disputes, he may be made to take some earth from the land in question and keep this on his head whilst swearing, the idea being that if he speaks falsely, the land will become a curse to him, and so on.

"Very well," the king said, "that is good; please speak then; by your statement the case will be settled."

She then said: "It is true, I was grazing the donkey at the tank, and these ploughmen were ploughing below the tank. For all the other ones people brought their forenoon meal, so they had their food; but for these their forenoon meal did not arrive. They were very angry and said: The day is so far advanced, still they are not bringing us anything; if they should bring food now, we shall beat them, we shall give them a sound thrashing, and we shall not eat their food either. Whilst they were speaking in this way, they caught sight of her; this servant-girl was coming having her child in front of her and carrying the food on her head. Then they became quiet. This girl put the food down there close to these people and herself went with a water-pot under her arm to the well to draw water, and her child followed after her. Just at the moment when they had reached the well, a marriage-procession from somewhere or other was passing along that road with much pomp and music. Whilst this servant-girl was looking away towards it, she intended to put a noose round the neck of her water-pot, but putting the noose round the neck of her child she let it down into the well. When she had drawn it up, she saw she had put the noose round the neck of her child, so it had died. Then she in a hurry carried her child to where the ploughmen were, and having scattered and thrown away over the place all the food she commenced, whilst holding her child in her arms, to cry violently and said to the ploughmen: You, you have beaten my child to death. Then these also came running together and saw that the child was really dead; so they again scolded her, saying: She has herself killed her child, and now she is without any cause whatever putting the blame on us. When they had rebuked her in this way, she took the child in her arms and carried it away in this direction. What she did to it here in these parts, I am unable to say. That is what I have seen, please understand that. If I have spoken falsely, Chando is seeing, and if I

ñelak katha dō, ma bujhautabonpe. Eṛēñ rōr akat khan Candoe ñeñel kana; ar dhōrōmgeñ rōr akat khan, nui gadhae hōr godok ma. — Adō onka rōr sāotege uni adren gadha deareye ceṭak goṭkedeā. Adō khangē sariye hōr goṭentaeā.

Khangē adō sanam hōrko paṭiāuena. Ar raj hōe mēnketa, Baña, sari kangea. Nēlpe, pāhilreyē mēnketa, Dhōrōm in rōr khan dō gadhae hōrōktiña, ar bañkhan dō qhōe hōrlena. Adō oñe thōbo ñelketa biswas dō. Adō uni kāmri kuṛi raje metadea, Oṭe māi, amtege com goṭkedetam, adō cedak noko dōm doh-motetkoa?

Adō uni kāmri kuṛi dō ceṭ hō bae rōrleta; gidra hōborkate hape hapeteye sayena. Adō uni raje mēnketa, Do aben dō sen-jonben, adō cabayena katha dō. Adō onkae metatkin khan nukin dōkin hecena, adō ako akoge ceṭko cōko galmaraokeṭ.

Adō nukin mahra kuṛi koṛa dō nāihārte hō bakin hecena, ar koṛawak engat apat oṛakte hō bakin hecena. Adō ontērege kisārkin sapante oñdegekin guti kāmriyena. Adōkin oṛak duar-kette tayomte dō casakin hoeyena. Adō un khonge, kathae, mahra jat dō gai dō aḍi baṛicko jotonkoa.

Adō eñe anan katha dō, in maraṅgea, cabayentakina.

24. Ṭakate bañ ñamoka.

Miṭṭaṇ mahra kisāre tahēkana. Unkin dō miṭṭaṇ kuṛi gidrai hoelentakina, adō inakategekin teṅgoyena; adō bakin gidra-leṭkoa.

¹ The following story touches one side of the inner life of Santal women, and also of Santal men. To be childless is considered a great calamity, often a curse. The Santal traditions tell that, in the old days, when a wife remained barren, she would herself bring a second wife into the house, that there might be children. This is explained to be the first, originally the only cause for a man having more than one wife among the Santals. The story of Abraham and Sarah might fit a Santal family in many points. As to 'cattle-owner', in Santali mahra, see p. 342, note 2.

have spoken the truth, may this donkey become a man." As she was speaking in this way, she suddenly gave her donkey a slap on the back with her hand. And in very truth, her donkey at once became a man.

Then they all believed it, and the king also said: "Undoubtedly, that is the truth. Observe, she said beforehand: 'If I speak the truth, my donkey shall become a man; otherwise he would certainly not have become a man. So there we have seen visible proof of the truth.'" The king thereupon spoke to the servant-girl: "Listen, girl, do you hear? you yourself killed your child. Then why do you falsely accuse these?"

The servant-girl did not say anything; carrying her child in her arms she quietly went aside without saying a word. The king then said: "Now you two, please, may go away; the case is finished." When he had said this to them, they came away, and those other ones had some talk, who knows what, among themselves.

Now the mahra boy and girl did not go to the home of her parents, nor did they come to the house of the boy's father and mother. They found a master in those parts and took service there. So they made themselves house and home, and afterwards they became farmers. From this time, people tell, the mahra caste people take such intense care of cows.

Now that is the story, it is thus much; the story of those two is finished.

24. NOT TO BE HAD FOR MONEY.

THERE was once a rich cattle-owner¹. One child was born to them, a girl, whereupon they ceased² getting children; they did not get any more.

¹2 The Santal word is *teŋgo*, stand, come to a standstill, their term. tech., so to say, for what is here referred to.

Ado uni gidrai hārayenre hō perage³ bako lagaok kan. Ado kathae, ghardi jāwāekīn dōhōadea. Ado unkin hō baplakate adi din hoeyena, pase isi bochor gan, enre hū bakin gidrajoñ kan. Khange uni kūrī dō gidrajoñ reak hēl horteye mokōñen khān dō, dingeye raga; ado ona bhabnate uni kūrī dōe osokena. Ado engat apatkin⁴ metaea, Henda māi, cekate bebañicem osoken dō? Cet bhabna menaktama?

Ado metatkina, In dō, baba, adi marañ bhabna menaktiña. Aben laiabēnre hō ona bhabna dō qhoben cabaletiña.

Adokin menketa, Mase ente lailem, bhala cet lekan katha kana.

Ado unrete metatkina, In dō, baba, dhulā muṭi kicriēge bañ bandelet dō, onate in dōñ bhabnak kana.

Adokin menketa, Ho, ona laḡit am dōm bhabnak kana? Ona dōbon kirin āguia. Ado ṭaka ematkote horkin kolketkoa. Metatkoakin, Do ape dō dhulā muṭi kicriē kirin āguipe.

Ado sari calaoente goṭa bajarko kuli baṛayetkore hō, onkan kicriēge bako nam dareak kan. Ado kathae, jemōn temōnak mitṭañ kicriēko kirinḡeta. Ado āgukate onako emadea. Ado ona hō bae khusilena. Ado arhōko menketa, Do eṭagak kirin āguipe.

Ado uni kūrīye menketa, E baba, aṛiakte ṭaka alope khoroṇa. In dō Candoge dhulā muṭi kicriē dō bae emadiñ khan in cekaea? Ape dō dhulā muṭi reak bhēd dō bape bujhaṇeta. Dhulā muṭi reak bhēd dō noa kana: gidrako tahentiñ khan, dhuṛite kicriēko

³ The same fate follows the child. No one wanted to ask for the girl; they had to arrange for a husband for her themselves.

⁴ Cf. above p. 310, note 38.

⁵ The two words translated 'dusty' are not Santali, but Hindi. The first word dhulā means dust; the other word muṭi may have several meanings; it may in Santali pronunciation be the same as māṭi, earth, or dirt. It may mean a handful, and also other things. The girl's parents and the others think it is the name of a special kind of cloth.

⁶ The word bajar, the same as our bazar, is a town with shops, not necessarily only shops, in Santali.

When this child grew up, no one asked for the girl in marriage either³. Ultimately, it is told, they procured a husband⁴ for her, who was to stay with them. Now these two also lived together for a very long time after their marriage, perhaps for twenty years or so; still they were not getting any children. When the girl at last understood that she could not any longer hope to get children, she cried every day; and because she was grieving over this, she wasted away. Her parents often said to her: "Look here, our girl, how is it you have become so awfully lean? What is preying on your mind?"

"Father," she replied, "I have a very great sorrow. But even if I tell both of you, you will not be able to end my sorrow."

"Do tell us, so we may know it anyhow," they said, "we wonder what kind of matter it is."

"Father," she replied, "I have never dressed in dusty⁵ cloth; that is what I am grieving over."

"Oh," they said, "is that what you are grieving over? We shall buy and bring you that. So they gave some people money and sent them off to buy. They said to them: "Do buy some dusty cloth and bring it here."

These people really went, but although they asked people all over the town⁶, they were unable to get any such cloth. So they bought a cloth such as they could find⁷, and brought it and gave it to the girl. But she was not pleased at that either. They then said to them: "Go, buy some other and bring it."

The girl then said: "Father, don't spend money to no purpose. When Chando⁸ has not given me the dusty cloth, what is there for me to do? You have not grasped the meaning of dusty. The meaning of dusty is this: if I had children, they would make

⁷ The word used in Santali generally connotes that the thing so described is what may just pass, but what is not quite up to the mark or satisfactory.

⁸ See p. 68, note 11.

mailaketiña. Ona kana dhulā muṭi kicrić dō. Adō gidraḡe banuk-kotiñ khañ, okortiñañ ona kicrić dō?

Khaṅge engat apatkin rak goṭketa, arkiñ menketa, Cekaealiñ, biṭi? Hoṛ hoṭete hoyok khañ, jāhāeko açukatebon benao ocokekōa. Adō ona lekañ kathage bañ kan. Adōkin rakketa: —

(Sereñ. Lagrē rār.)

Porer putā hoeto kiba yayo jala, kiba beḡon kōre;
Apon putā hoeto aiso putā kole libā he.

Metakme, Eṭak hoṛren hoponko taheñ khañ, ceṭ hō jala joñjal bhabna banuk; ar apnarren hopon taheñ khañ, dhuṛi akanre hōm heo goṭkea.

Adō kuṛiye menketa, Onē onatege, ayo, ināk jivi dō sarage patale lōk kantiña. Onateñ metaben kana, ṭaka aloben khoroṇa. In dō Candoge bae emadiñ khañ, ceṭ in mēna? Ona bhabnate in dōñ osogok kana. Nit dare calak bhor ma hēge. Adō jāhā hilok aliñliñ buḡhi haṛamlen khañ, cele aṣulliña ar cele jōṭonliña? Onako bhabnate in dōñ raket kanteñ osogok kana.

Adōkin metadea, Nit doliñ baḡaekettama. Adōbon cekaea? Ma jivi dō teñtam. Bhabnakate hō oḡobon namlekoa. Dare calak

⁹ Grief is very commonly given vent to in song; the Santals have a special melody, always used in their lamentations over dead ones. Such 'songs' as a rule consist of only a couple of lines, quite exceptionally there is more.

¹⁰ The melody here used, according to the narrator, is lagrē, a dance melody par excellence.

¹¹ The song is in a rustic form of Bengali.

¹² The narrator has, for the benefit of his audience, given a free translation of the 'song'.

¹³ In Santali also the soul or heart 'burns'; the way in which it burns is here described as sarage patale, lit. heavenwards, hadeswards; there is nothing left to live for.

¹⁴ A common expression for resignation.

¹⁵ The thoughts here given expression to are those of a Santal. It is not succession that is uppermost in their minds, but to have somebody to look after them when

my cloth dirty with dust. That is the dusty cloth. I have no children, then where can I have that cloth?"

When they heard this, her parents commenced to cry and said: "What shall we do, daughter? If such a cloth were made by man, we should hire some one or other and let them make it: But it is not anything of that kind."

Thereupon they cried⁹: (here is the song, sung at lagrê melody¹⁰).

"If it is a son of other people, what gives anxiety,
mother, what gives pain?

If it is your own son, come, my son, I shall take
you in my arms¹¹."

That is to say¹²: If it is other people's children, there is no anxiety, trouble, sorrow; and if it is one's own child, you will at once take him on your hip, even if he is dirty from dust.

Then the girl said: "That's the reason, mother, that my soul burns within me and I am grieving unto death¹³. Therefore I am saying to you both, don't spend any money. When Chando has not given me a child, what can I say¹⁴? That is my grief, therefore I am wasting away. It may go so long as my strength lasts. But some day in the future, when my husband and I become old, who will support us, who will take care of us¹⁵? It is on account of these anxieties that I am crying and wasting away."

"Now we¹⁶ know what is the matter with you," they said to her. "But what can we¹⁷ do? Be patient, control yourself. Even

they become old and cannot work any longer. To a childless Santal it is a real, often grave and vital problem,

¹⁶ The pronoun used is the exclusive dual.

¹⁷ The pronoun used is the inclusive plural; it may, besides the one addressed, include the whole world, or only the family.

bhor dō apnartegebon laṛaoka, ar bañ hilok dō jāhāe perako māyākṛe ma hēge. Ār bañkhan niā cij baṣut nēlte jāhāeko aṣulbongea. Noa cij jimawako khan dō, jānić albotko aṣsulgea. Ar rak ar bhañnakate hō cefbo cekaea?

Adō eṇe cabayena katha dō.

¹⁸ See above note 15. Above were the feelings of a woman, here are given the reflexions of an elderly, resigned man.

if we grieve, we shall not get any. As long as our strength lasts, we shall move about ourselves; when we cannot do that any longer, if some relative or other will feel compassion, well and good. If not, then some one or other will support us, seeing all this property. If this property is given into their charge, they will likely be sure to support us¹⁸. And even crying and grieving, what can we do?"

So there, the story is ended.

